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The Shape of Things

UNDER THE GUISE OF "ECONOMY" THE House Appropriations Committee has eliminated or curtailed funds for more than a dozen projects of vital importance not only to the public welfare but to the war effort. The most serious cut from the standpoint of wartime efficiency was the reduction in the amount set aside for defense housing from $200,000,000 to a bare $50,000,000. With a view to rectifying the man-power shortage caused by lack of housing, the National Housing Agency conducted a city-to-city survey of housing needs in war centers. It found that 925,000 units would be needed to house 1,200,000 war workers, and that in the absence of other possibilities the government would have to provide for at least 184,000 of these workers. The $200,000,000 requested meant a subsidy per house of barely $1,000.

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OTHER CUTS WHICH WILL SURELY INTERFERE with production efficiency included the elimination of $1,000,000 requested by the Public Health Service to provide physicians in areas now deprived of medical services; a $2,000,000 reduction in the funds requested by the War Manpower Commission to pay transportation costs of foreign labor for war plants; a $2,500,000 reduction in the funds requested to train nurses for the war emergency; the elimination of a request for $3,961,000 for emergency teacher training to overcome the present grave shortage of qualified instructors, and of $125,000 for special war work by the Women's Bureau; and the elimination of all funds needed for the enforcement of the child labor laws. In several instances, agencies which have been under fire from Congress for not meeting the full demands that have been placed upon them were denied the funds necessary to carry out their duties. For example, the WMC was denied a badly needed $2,500,000 to improve the efficiency of the United States Employment Service, while the NLRB was refused the $300,000 it requested for enforcement of the Smith-Connally bill. And, most ironic of all, the Budget Bureau was denied $180,000 of the funds it requested for personnel to inquire into legitimate economies that might be made in government expenditures.

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ESCAPING THE DREADED PRUNING KNIFE OF the committee, surprisingly enough, was the budgeted appropriation for the Office of War Information's foreign branch. Psychological warfare is one of those dreamy New Deal notions which cause the purer breed of American Congressmen to see red in more ways than one, and several of the species have been patiently waiting for the chance to cripple Mr. Davis's agency. Imagine their discomfort when testimonials to the OWI's work in Africa and Italy poured in from Generals Marshall, Eisenhower, Patton, and Devers. Imagine their downright embarrassment when they were told what Admiral Cunningham said as the Italian fleet steamed into Malta: "Tell General McClure [in charge of psychological warfare in North Africa] that they've accomplished in one day with propaganda what I've been trying to do for three years with the Navy." In approving the appropriation the majority of the committee reported that "More than 80 per cent of the German and Italian prisoners captured in Sicily admit being impelled to give up by propaganda leaflets and broadcasts." But prejudices and political unscrupulousness die hard in anti-Roosevelt circles, and Republican Representatives Taber, Wigglesworth, Lambertson, and Ditter found it necessary to file a dissent. One had "grave doubts" about the OWI's work, another called the agency a "stench" and let it go at that, while a third charged it with issuing campaign buttons to boost a fourth term. Political warfare abroad may be starry-eyed, but at home it is practical.

*

DESPITE A SHORTAGE OF SUPPLIES HERE, THE National Lead Company shipped 700 tons of titanium to Japan nine months before Pearl Harbor. The purpose, as explained by Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge to the Kilgore committee, was to help the company's Japanese cartel partner evade a British embargo on shipments of titanium from India to Japan. The British imposed the embargo because of I. G. Farben's interest in the Japanese company. I. G.'s partners in this country were National Lead, Dupont, and the Titan Company, Inc. All three were indicted by a grand jury in New York last June but prosecution, in the manner grown customary, has been suspended "in order not to interfere in the war effort." I. G. Farben and Dupont seem to have been the leading figures in this world cartel for the control and exorbitant pricing of titanium, the most valuable and useful of all white pigments for paint. After the war began American partners of I. G. kindly arranged to take over German patents "in trust" for the duration to prevent their seizure by the Alien Property Custodian. This is the familiar cartel pattern. Its importance is that these cartels intend to resume after the war. A few great companies here and abroad figure in most of them; their political influence is enormous and invariably reactionary; their objective a continued scarcity economy. It isn't going to be easy to preserve peace and freedom where and while they operate.

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CONFIRMED CYNICS ARE REFERRED TO LAST week's issue of the *Saturday Evening Post,* wherein they will find the headiest brew of *Realpolitik* since Machiavelli worked out the recipe. "Power Politics Succeeded in Italy" by Demaree Bess is the contribution we have in mind. Its thesis, briefly, is that we won out in Italy because we rejected all recourse to popular forces. Far from having anything against fascism as such, we tried from the start to bribe Mussolini into breaking with the Axis; having failed in this objective we fought and were ultimately in a position to approach Italy with anti-fascist slogans intended to win over the people. At the same time we instructed AMG officials "to suppress all forms of local political activity"; and with the slogan "Abolish Fascism!" we combined "such a conservative policy otherwise that it amounted to the freezing of the status quo in Sicily, once Mussolini's personal party machine had been destroyed." By this sort of manipulation, writes Mr. Bess admiringly, "the decks were cleared for negotiations with any group inside Italy which could get rid of Mussolini." Accepting Mr. Bess's analysis without his glowing approval, we can see the "power-politics" part of his title, but we are not so sure about the success. The Darlan deal, with which he enthusiastically compares the Badoglio arrangement, has been defended on the ground that it saved lives. But what lives have been saved in our inch-by-inch advance through Italy? "Had the armistice come immediately," Adolfo Omodeo, rector of the University of Naples, told Herbert Matthews, "the Allies could have landed at Genoa, Spezia, and northern ports, and Italy would have been theirs. Now the peninsula is being devastated from south to north." Tragic, but we needed those fifty days for Mr. Bess's power politics.

*

AT A RECEPTION COMMEMORATING THE seventh anniversary of the defense of Madrid, Alvarez del Vayo termed Franco's message to the Filipino traitor, José P. Laurel, "an act of aggression against the United States." That most Americans, even those who formerly treated Franco with the utmost consideration, interpreted the message in a similar manner was indicated by a disapproving editorial in the New York *Times* on November 4. But the congratulatory message is not an isolated proof of Spain's continued servitude to the Axis. Immediately afterwards, the Franco regime was reported by Berlin to have signed a trade agreement with the "government" of Mussolini, and Nazi broadcasts to South America gave it wide publicity. Berlin, evidently, is anxious to convince Ramirez that he is not Hitler's only

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playmate, in this hour of Germany's gravest military setback, but that Spain, in spite of Portugal's shift to the side of the United Nations, has remained faithful. The Madrid government has denied the story of the agreement, but its word is hardly better than Berlin's.

*

NOT LONG AGO, CORRESPONDENTS AND commentators united in describing the great changes which had taken place in Falangist Spain as a result of recent Allied victories. The smallest detail—the printing of an Allied communique before a German communique—was taken as evidence that Franco was rapidly swinging to the Allies. Evidence to the contrary—the maintenance of the Blue Division on the Russian front, the continuous anti-American propaganda disseminated throughout Latin America, the recent address of Senor Arreses, Falangist leader, which reaffirmed the fight against communism as "the permanent aim of Spanish foreign policy"—all this was dismissed as accidental. As the New York *Times* tearfully pointed out, "this country has been patient with Franco, especially during the Civil War," and it was assumed that Franco would reward that patience by coming over to the Allies once Hitler's prospective defeat made that course expedient. Now comes Franco's double perfidy. The disappointment in certain quarters is bitter. But not bitter enough, it seems, to bring about immediate recall of Ambassador Carlton Hayes, whose mission in Madrid is the greatest diplomatic failure of recent years.

*

THE COAL SETTLEMENT MUST BE REGARDED as a substantial victory for John L. Lewis. Although he did not succeed in getting the full increase of two dollars a day—ten dollars for the five-day week—which he demanded last spring, the weekly increase under the new contract amounts to approximately $11.50 because of overtime pay on Saturdays. From the standpoint of the general public, however, the settlement is not without merit. The working time of the miners has been lengthened by one hour a day in addition to the extension brought about by the introduction of the six-day week. This should mean a considerable increase in the production of coal at a time when every effort must be made to expand output. Moreover, the partial recognition of the principle of portal-to-portal pay must be regarded as justified. When the extra hours and payment for part of the underground travel time are taken into account, the settlement can be fitted within the framework of the "Little Steel" formula. The most serious cause for apprehension in connection with the settlement lies in the fact that it will undoubtedly strengthen Lewis's prestige not only within the United Mine Workers but in the labor movement as a whole. Responsible sections of organized labor may have to pay a heavy price for Mr. Lewis's victory.

Ballot Readings

OFF-YEAR elections are to political analysts what birds' entrails were to Roman seers and what tea leaves are to gypsies. Pick your oracle judiciously and you can get almost any interpretation you want. To Wendell Willkie last week's vote means that "The country is tired, very tired, of the present national administration." Harrison Spangler sees the mystic portent that "The American way is on the march!" To the New York *Daily Mirror* the election of Joe Hanley as Lieutenant Governor makes Thomas E. Dewey the "outstanding symbol of the anti-New Deal forces in the nation," while the more prosaic sybil of the *Times* sees the Hanley triumph as the profound conviction of the people that a Republican governor should have a Republican lieutenant governor. Always the last word in gaudy divination, the *Daily News* thinks the whole election shows that the country wants to forget Hitler for a while and send more planes and men to General MacArthur. And James A. Farley, absolving himself of any responsibility, reads the figures as a warning which he hopes will have "a sobering effect on those who guide the destinies of the states and the nation."

Foregoing our own privilege of reading signs, we prefer to note a few of the factors that may have contributed to the results, which we do not for a moment pretend to find gratifying. The first factor is that "those who guide the destinies of the states and the nation" can now count on Mr. Farley for post-election warnings rather than pre-election assistance. The kind of campaign which the New York State chairman put on for General Haskell was ardent enough to have elected a Democratic sheriff in Mississippi, but hardly more than that. And there is no doubt that many a Democrat, acting on instructions from his ward boss, voted for the discredited Judge Aurelio—on the Republican ticket. Aurelio's name appeared on the machines under both Democratic and Republican labels, but his total Republican vote plus the vote for George Frankenthaler, whom the party unofficially sponsored after repudiating Aurelio, was greater than the vote for Mr. Hanley, the head of the ticket!

Across the Hudson, Boss Hague developed a similar incapacity for delivering the vote, with the result that after an apathetic campaign, Mayor Vincent J. Murphy of Newark was defeated for Governor of New Jersey by Republican Walter E. Edge. Mr. Murphy's excellent record as a labor leader clearly left Hague unenthusiastic if it did not scare him out of his wits.

The defeat of William C. Bullitt for mayor of Philadelphia and the photo-finish race for governor of Kentucky are the other straws which are said to be pointing straight at a New Deal debacle in 1944. But no one in his right mind expected Philadelphia to elect a Demo-

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cratic mayor, and if that miracle could have been achieved for any Democrat it certainly wasn't the vulnerable Mr. Bullitt. The Republican victory in Kentucky, however, unquestionably reflects a rising tide for the G.O.P. which no one in Washington is likely to ignore.

In a class by itself was the savage mayoralty campaign in Detroit. The primaries were won by Frank FitzGerald, who enjoyed the backing of Detroit's powerful trade unions, of Negroes who resented Mayor Jeffries's wretched handling of the race riots last June, and of chauvinist white elements who resented the Mayor's earlier stand in support of the Negroes' right to share in the Sojourner Truth housing project. Between the primary and election day Jeffries made a shameless—and successful—bid for the anti-Negro vote, talking wildly of a black conspiracy to take over the city. FitzGerald himself was not above attacking Jeffries for favoring "bi-racial housing" but was accepted nevertheless by the Negroes as the sweeter of two lemons. Jeffries won, and Detroit now seethes more than ever.

The defeat of FitzGerald, like that of Murphy in New Jersey, was also a blow at organized labor's political prestige. These two losses, together with the American Labor Party's failure to save Haskell from defeat in New York, are hard pills to swallow, but they are far from fatal, especially since the Labor Party's vote in New York was much larger than expected.

We can accept the fact that more Republicans than Democrats voted in New York, New Jersey, and Kentucky without being convinced that there are more Republicans than Democrats in those states. The war-time shifts of manpower which played so large a part in 1942 are still operative, and the soldier vote, conceded by both sides to be overwhelmingly Democratic, is absent this year as it was last. Should these two powerful elements be adequately represented in the 1944 vote, Mr. Spangler's "way" may turn right around and march back again.

Subsidies or Chaos

NO PRESIDENTIAL message in recent years has covered matters of more immediate concern to the American people than Mr. Roosevelt's recent message on food and food subsidies. Yet there is grave danger that its proposals will be ignored in Congress. It is apparent that the home-front struggle against the insidious and destructive forces of inflation is nearing another of its all too frequent crises. For the first time since the hold-the-line order was issued last spring, the cost of living has shown signs of resuming its advance. Congress has failed miserably in its primary obligation to check through taxation the increase in the amount of surplus or "dangerous" money available for bidding up prices. Seeing the apparent failure of the OPA's roll-back program, labor has once more become restive. The miners have succeeded in wresting a contract from Ickes which gives them even more than the Illinois formula repudiated by the War Labor Board. And the C. I. O. convention in Philadelphia unanimously demanded a scrapping of the "Little Steel" wage formula and pledged support for the wage demands of the Railway Brotherhoods.

In the face of these conflicting pressures the President clearly has no choice but to attempt to bolster his hold-the-line program as set forth last spring. To yield on any front invites disaster. But the demands of labor can only be staved off if the government lives up to its promise and reduces the cost of living to the level at which wages have been pegged. As Mr. Roosevelt points out, organized labor has loyally supported the stabilization program up to now on the clear understanding that the cost of living would be rolled back to a point where it reached a balance with wages. Some reduction in living costs was achieved during the summer months. But owing to the pressure of the farm bloc, no substantial cut in food prices could be achieved without reimbursing either farmer or distributor through subsidies. If food prices are to be brought back to the September 15, 1942, level, further subsidies will be needed.

It is evident that the fight over subsidies is crucial to the entire stabilization program. If Congress supports the recent action of the House Banking and Currency Committee and refuses further subsidies to hold down food costs, it will be impossible to resist labor's demands for a substantial increase in wages. The increase in the miners' wage scale can probably be reconciled with the "Little Steel" formula, but if that formula is scrapped, as the C. I. O. now demands, the entire stabilization program must eventually go with it. It might still be possible to maintain price ceilings on a few key articles in a period of gradually rising prices, but anything like the present over-all regulations, would be administratively impossible. And once the price-wage spiral gets under way, regulation becomes increasingly ineffective.

Although the C. I. O. can hardly be blamed for being angered by the Administration's failure to live up to its promise to reduce the cost of living, it displayed singularly poor statesmanship in issuing its demand for elimination of the "Little Steel" formula just one day after the President sent his subsidy message to Congress. The demand will undoubtedly be used by opponents of the subsidy to buttress their contention that the stabilization program has already broken down. Actually, there is still a fighting chance. Even if Congress rejects the President's plea for subsidies, he may again, as in June, use his veto power. As long as there is a chance, labor should give him its support. For the alternative to subsidies is economic chaos.

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The Meaning of Moscow

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

AT MOSCOW Hitler suffered his greatest political defeat of the war, a defeat which will do more to bring about the downfall of his regime and the collapse of his military power than any of his recent disastrous defeats in the field. To say that is not to minimize the importance of the armed struggle. On the contrary, the Allied political victory at Moscow could never have been won if the military victories had not preceded it. Let no one forget the Red Army; in the mild person of Foreign Minister Molotov, it attended every session of the Moscow conference.

The political effects of the decisions reached at Moscow have only begun to be felt but every day reveals new ones. Already the promise and challenge to Austria have been answered with anti-Nazi riots and new, brutal repression by the Gestapo. As we go to press, unconfirmed reports announce Finnish peace feelers and a move on the part of Turkey to permit use by the Allies of plane and naval bases. From every occupied or satellite country come stories of aggravated tension and new acts of resistance. For not only Germany, but the anti-Axis world as well, has read the meaning of Moscow. It knows that the three great powers have sealed a pact which guarantees victory. It knows that this long-delayed pledge of union is the thing Hitler has been employing his total armament of propaganda to prevent. The Moscow agreement, quite apart from its terms, is in itself an act of political war. For lack of such an agreement the grand strategy of the United Nations has faltered; indeed until now, as *The Nation* has steadily pointed out, a plan of campaign which ignored, or even rejected, the political demands of the war was no plan at all.

The Moscow meeting accomplished several valuable results: 1. It helped to bridge the dangerous gap of suspicion and fear between Russia and America—a gap which Britain had been trying desperately to straddle. It did this not only by bringing the three powers together, but by creating a European council to continue the political consultations initiated by the Foreign Ministers. 2. It agreed on the early creation of an international organization, initiated by the chief allied powers, including China (a most important inclusion), and open to all other peaceful states. 3. It arrived at a military understanding, undefined but clearly basic to the whole agreement, which will take the place of the confused clamor of demands, promises, excuses, and accusations which have poisoned Allied relations and encouraged Axis hopes. 4. It promised the abolition of fascism in Italy and the establishment of democratic guarantees. (The actual time for instituting this change is left to the decision of the combined chiefs of staff, a precaution which robs the promise of much of its immediate political effect.) 5. It opened a direct political offensive against Nazi power in Central and Eastern Europe by pledging Austria its liberty in return for effective resistance. 6. It agreed to deliver Axis war criminals for punishment to the peoples they have oppressed.

This is much: put together it forms a framework and a promise. It marks a new departure in Allied relations.

For this achievement every democratic critic of America's previous foreign policy must be thankful. Those persons who today are claiming that the Moscow agreement is the logical culmination of a policy slowly and patiently evolved by the President and his Secretary of State can hardly be taken seriously. It is, on the contrary, an effective veto of almost every political measure they had previously enacted.

The man who contemptuously refused to be drawn into discussions of European political problems, declaring that they had no relevance while the war was being fought, has now helped to frame an agreement on just those problems. And the agreement, by all its implications, rules out further dealings with the procession of purchasable fascists and amenable reactionaries who have been used, or encouraged to believe they would be used, as the State Department's Quislings. The victory won at Moscow was a victory for all people everywhere who have bitterly resented the role being played by America in Europe. Perhaps Mr. Hull's chief success lay in his willingness to abandon a discredited policy. This took courage, and the fact that Mr. Hull had no real alternative detracts only a little from the credit due him. He might have refused to undertake the mission; or he might have convinced himself that his previous attitude was still tenable and worth fighting for.

In any case, there is no denying the domestic value of Secretary Hull's participation in the conference. As Mr. Stone points out, his presence in Moscow assured the new pact a friendly reception in Congress. Even the opponents of the Administration's foreign policy have accepted it with satisfaction. I have no doubt that the incorporation in the Connally resolution of the collective-security section of the Moscow agreement, and the prompt and almost unanimous adoption of the amended resolution, are to be attributed largely to Mr. Hull's influence. For this too we should be grateful.

The Russian government has supported democratic resistance in Nazi-occupied Europe for the best of reasons: to help win the war and to buttress its own security after the war. Neither reaction nor revolution would serve its needs when the peace came. The first would offer an open menace. The second would bring the threat of armed intervention and, in any case, make it difficult for Russia to import the equipment needed for a rapid restoration of its industrial power. Russia wants, at least during the first few years after Hitler's defeat, a

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stable Continent and good relations with the West. It wants a workable system of collective security. And it wants the protection of its old boundaries.

The United States and Britain—but especially the United States—have feared the spread of Russian influence in the rest of Europe. They have looked upon all popular movements as likely to produce a break-down of authority and open the way to Communism. While proclaiming democratic aims, they have backed reactionary groups which promised authoritarian if not fascist rule. If they could have continued this policy they would doubtless have been pleased.

But they could not. Russia demanded a hand in political decisions in Europe. It intervened first by favoring de Gaulle. It backed strongly the underground movements, and Communist elements have taken the lead in organizing resistance everywhere. It favored the Partisans in Yugoslavia over the Mikhailovich forces. It encouraged the Greek guerrillas to oppose the King. It criticized AMG in Italy and proposed the creation of the Mediterranean Commission to advise on political policies in that region. Russia's acquiescence in the recognition of Badoglio is now seen to be an act of only limited significance. The section in the Moscow agreement guaranteeing democratic rights to the people of Italy has been described by some writers as an astonishing concession on the part of the Soviet government to its Western allies. The reverse is probably closer to the fact. Russia has been endorsing democratic rights all over Europe; it is the British and ourselves who have backed the elements that suppress them. The Soviet position may be inconsistent with its own internal practices, but Stalin is not a man to let consistency stand in the way of Russia's national interests.

It is those interests which proved decisive at Moscow.

Some Western statesmen, during recent months, may have looked back rather wistfully to the period after the last war when Russia was chaotic, struggling, shorn of vast territories by Germany, fighting for its survival against internal enemies, its old army broken, its new revolutionary forces untrained and unequipped. In those days Russia couldn't intervene in the great decisions regarding Europe. Instead it could safely be harassed and plotted against, its enemies supplied with arms and money, and its borders closed by a ring of hostile states.

Today, twenty-six years after its birth, Soviet Russia is the strongest state in Europe. It is winning victories on a scale that diminish the successes of Britain and the United States to relative insignificance. The days of Russian weakness and dependence can not be brought back. No other nations can carry into effect decisions which run counter to Russia's needs. No federation headed by a hostile Poland can serve today as a new *cordon sanitaire*. Even the attempt of the Western powers to set up little reactionary vassals as a counterpoise to the Soviet Union begins to look impractical. With the Red Army driving toward Berlin, Russia's claims must be considered and Russia's good will won.

So Mr. Hull went to Moscow. The result is not an obvious Soviet triumph. Concessions were made on all sides and the plan which finally emerged offers Russia security without depriving the other parties to the agreement of any advantages they can propely claim. Mr. Hull brings back the promise of a system of collective security based on a free and democratic Europe. That such a promise represents the needs of the Soviet Union is the world's good fortune.

F. D. R.'s Victory

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, November 4

THE President, in one of his darkest hours, has won one of his greatest victories. Democratic national headquarters are in mourning; the election returns seem to foreshadow a Republican victory in 1944. The OPA, main bastion of the home front, is in deepest gloom; large sections of labor, agriculture, and industry are wilfully insistent on price and wage increases likely to unloose a disastrous inflation. This is the moment at which the President, by consummate strategy, has at last succeeded in leading the United States out of isolationism and into a concert of powers for the preservation of peace. He has used a conservative Southern Democrat to bring about an entente between capitalist America and Communist Russia. And as this is being written tonight there is every indication that the Senate, where Wilson's hopes fondered, will by more than a two-thirds' vote approve the four-power pact at Moscow. This is a historic achievement, the first step toward preventing World War III; and except for a handful of mischief-makers here, there is a general feeling of satisfaction among men of the most diverse views over what the President and Secretary of State Hull have accomplished.

At the State Department, newspapermen who have been critical are being greeted with jubilation. The Moscow pact is felt to be a complete answer to the critics; the

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critics, for their part, are pleased with the results of the three-power conference—for which, they feel, they can claim some credit. The uproar over the Welles affair had made Secretary Hull exceedingly sensitive to the charge of being anti-Soviet and anxious to prove that he was as good a diplomat as his former subaltern. This was a propitious mood in which to send him off to Moscow. As one of the correspondents who have been most critical of Hull in the past, and will probably be so again in the future, I honor him for his achievement; it was no easy one for a man of his years and views. In White House circles the Moscow pact is regarded as fully justifying the President's action in forcing the resignation of Welles at the price of keeping Hull. To have the Moscow agreement made by the idol of the anti-New Dealers, an irreproachable conservative, is considered to be worth many compromises.

Had the Moscow pact been presented to the Senate some time after the passage of the Connally resolution, the "but" brigade would have taken ample advantage of its vague wording and many loopholes. It is fortunate that the determined group of fourteen Senators led by Pepper and the sponsors of the B2H2 resolution had drawn out the debate and blocked a count on the Connally measure until the Moscow pact was announced. The release of the text in the midst of the debate caught the fence-straddlers and the quasi-isolationists off guard. They were forced to prove that they meant what they said when they claimed to be for international cooperation. All but the extreme isolationists at once claimed the Moscow pact as their own. Connally said "the sentiments therein expressed" were "in substantial conformity" with the terms of his resolution; the Pepper group welcomed the Moscow agreement as "the kind of clear declaration of principle" Pepper and his colleagues had sought to write into the Connally measure. The ignominious Taft thought that "on the whole the Moscow declaration is far more like the Mackinac resolution," and when Connally incorporated language from the Moscow announcement in his resolution, it was Vandenberg who suggested that by unanimous consent these additions be considered a part of the original resolution instead of an amendment. Senator Carter Glass deserves a large share of the credit for this move, which provides all but formal ratification and the force of a treaty to the Moscow agreement.

One of the principal fears expressed during the debate on the Connally resolution was that it might be construed as having approved in advance a treaty later to be negotiated by the Administration. The Washington *Star* quoted unnamed State Department officials as saying that the Moscow declaration had the force of a treaty, though it did not require ratification by the Senate. This evoked a statement from Connally declaring that this anonymous report had been strongly denied by Under Secretary Stettinius. Whatever the value of the denial, and whatever the name applied to the Moscow declaration, it involves far more than a mere statement of generalities. It envisages continuous action through a joint political commission in London; it has already committed the powers to specific action in the case of Austria, and in the case of Italy to a general line of policy in regard to reconquered territory. The declaration involves a great deal more than most treaties, and it is obvious that in it the Administration has found another of its devices to circumvent the Senate on international policy. The passage of the Connally resolution in a form embodying language from the Moscow declaration places the President in a powerful position to carry on under its terms without further reference to the Senate. Mr. Roosevelt has outwitted his opponents again.

The Moscow agreement must be read in the light of the Soviet declaration that Russia's 1941 boundaries were not open to discussion. It is agreed here that nothing short of a successful war against them would lead the Soviets to give up what they consider the boundaries necessary to their security. A small group of Senatorial pseudo-isolationists, led by Reynolds and Wheeler, seemed anxious during the debate on the Connally resolution to lay the basis for just such an armed conflict. I call them pseudo-isolationists because the isolationist position they assumed during Hitler's period of expansion has been exchanged for the most open kind of interventionism against the Soviet Union. In these Senators the Atlantic Charter has found new and strange devotees.

Reynolds, once the hero of the Bundists, seems to have become the chief reliance of the Poles, and he who glossed over Hitler's aggressions now tells the Senate, "If Soviet Russia intends to have and to hold the once-free Baltic republics and parts of Poland . . . that intention must be resisted by force of arms or be permitted to prevail by default. . . . Civilized nations have never been isolationist in their attitude toward international bandits and robbers." Reynolds has also become the champion of the colored peoples. He wants the Four Freedoms guaranteed to "all colors of skin," but instead of starting his reforms in the army—as chairman of the Military Affairs Committee he is reported to be a powerful influence in promoting the segregation policy—he casts a demagogic eye on the British Empire. Wheeler, who excused the partition of Czechoslovakia at Munich, is worried about Soviet designs on Outer Mongolia.

This is the new isolationism. It speaks the language of idealism but parallels the Nazi line for the propagation of dissension among the Allies. The Senate rejected it by a vote of 70 to 15 in turning down the Danaher amendment, but the Senatorial franks will spread the new brand of anti-Soviet poison assiduously. The same breed of men who once asked, "Why die for Danzig?" are now prepared to give their all for Bessarabia.

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Relief for 500,000,000

BY BLAIR BOLLES

Washington, November 5

IN A few days the sincerity of the Allies' determination to pursue a united course—the heart of the Moscow declarations—will be put to a hard test at Atlantic City. On November 10 the representatives of forty-four governments will meet there to set up the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration for the distribution of food, clothing, and medical supplies to the hungry, dirty, sick men, women, and children living under the heel of the occupying Nazis and Japanese in territories marked for liberation.

The UNRRA will find 500,000,000 potential clients as the Allied armies advance. It is easy to agree to free these people from the horrors of malnutrition, but it is difficult to make the necessary arrangements. Already there has been interference. When studies were undertaken this year to improve the catch in the Caribbean off Venezuela so that there might be enough fish to feed the Mediterranean peoples, spokesmen for the New England fishing industry protested successfully—though their catch is insufficient to supply those peoples' needs. When Tuskegee technicians were about to set out for French West Africa to try to enlarge the peanut output there, the British objected that they have peanut enterprises on the Gold Coast—though Gold Coast peanuts would not leave a mark on the fats and oils shortage in Europe. When Cuba accepted the American government's proposal that large acreages of sugar cane be turned to rice production to help develop a stockpile for European relief, American owners of Cuban sugar property pricked American rice growers into complaining through their Congressmen.

The UNRRA represents an attempt to take from the United States the trappings of Santa Claus which it assumed through Herbert Hoover's operations after the last war and to permit the nations which will receive relief to keep the self-respect that disappears with charity. The cost of the enterprise is to be shared by all UNRRA members. Some can pay in gold, some in goods. Up to now the United States, through Governor Lehman's Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, and Great Britain, have been sharing the relief burden. Such a burden, however, sometimes has its compensations. Members of the Chicago Board of Trade, for example, profited greatly from the Hoover operations, which stressed the use of wheat and corn from the United States.

The UNRRA agreement creates a number of agencies, and the way they work together will undoubtedly set a pattern for other types of joint agencies which the United Nations may choose to create for dealing with world problems. Policy will be determined by a Council to which each member government will name one delegate, but the Central Committee of the Council "shall when necessary make policy decisions of an important nature" between semi-annual Council sessions. The Central Committee is made up of delegates from the Big Four—the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union. The Council is to subdivide itself into a Committee of the Council for Europe and a Committee of the Council for the Far East; these "shall consider and recommend to the Council and the Central Committee policies with respect to relief and rehabilitation in their respective areas."

International food movements today are controlled by the Combined Food Board in Washington, on which only the United States, Great Britain, and Canada are represented. The board allots food to other countries on a strategical basis, to supply the armies. Some of the governments which are about to become members of the UNRRA suspect that the Combined Food Board will take a tough view of relief requests. Forty lesser powers note that the four great ones control the Central Committee, and that two of them control the Combined Food Board.

The line between great and small powers is sharply felt by the governments invited to join the UNRRA. The first draft for the organization, published last June, caused resentment because, as the Dutch government made clear in a protest note to the State Department, it seemed to place all the power in the hands of the Big Four and left the other forty in the position of an unconsulted claque. The draft was revised during the summer to meet the objections of the Dutch and also those of the United States Senate, which notified Cordell Hull informally that the proposed agreement amounted in fact to a treaty and should be submitted to the Senate for its approval. The new draft, published September 23, provided for the two continental committees of the Council; but the Big Four still dominate, and the Combined Food Board remains a problem. The lesser powers see no means of pressing their views upon the board, and they wonder, too, whether the board will protect them from competition in the food-buyers' market.

Whoever distributes the relief will gain political advantage. Three avenues of distribution are being considered before the Atlantic City meeting: the Allied armies; the exiled governments; and the governments of the

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great powers on a sort of neighborhood basis—Russia for the Balkans and Central Europe, Britain for the coastal countries, and so on. Here is a ticklish problem. The exiled governments are to sign the UNRRA declaration; yet Washington and London doubt whether some of the exiled governments, particularly the Yugoslav government, will be wanted back in their own countries.

The relief planners advocate that the food be produced as near to its consumers as possible. London and Washington relief authorities regret, for instance, that the agriculture of the liberated provinces in Italy, where food is being distributed by the AMG, and of the three Apulian provinces under Marshal Badoglio has not been converted to the production of foods needed for relief. The Allies missed the chance last winter and spring to direct the plantings in North Africa; now American agents are going to help the fruit and vegetable growers, in December sowings, to start a crop more vitally needed in the work of feeding Europe's starving—that is, beans.

Dried beans and peas are destined to become, with flour, the chief elements in food relief. Beans are a fair substitute for meat, which is scarce in Europe. To obtain larger quantities of them the United States is negotiating a contract with Chile for an 80 per cent increase in its bean acreage. One hundred million bushels of wheat for flour are available under the terms of the International Wheat Agreement of June, 1942, in which the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and Argentina pledged to assign their surpluses to foreign relief.

The peoples to be rehabilitated have been given some reason to hope that they will get a variety of food but not large quantities. The OFRRO—now the Division of Liberated Areas of the Office of Foreign Economic Administration—has experimented with a dehydrated vegetable stew of precooked beans and peas, soybean grits, barley, dehydrated diced vegetables, brewer's yeast, and meat seasoning, and with a dehydrated soup powder. A serious attempt is to be made to provide milk in some form for all infants and pregnant and nursing mothers.

Relief needs are tremendous. The exiled governments have submitted estimates, sometimes overdrawn, as in the instance of a request for an amount of lard equal to half the United States stocks. Soap is an urgent item everywhere. Textiles are wanted throughout Nazi-held Europe, where a second suit of underwear may save a man from the plague of typhus.

The textile situation shows how the program to be worked out at Atlantic City will benefit business; those who view it as "globaloney" are shallow thinkers. Textile manufacturers are already worrying about stocks which may be left on their hands after the war—blankets, overcoating, towels, heavy woolen underwear, rayon materials, light underwear, shirts, socks, bedding. The UNRRA may become one of the heaviest purchasers of textiles in the world.

More important, relief and rehabilitation will hasten victory. A starving, unruly population in combat zones would slow down the advance of our troops. Relief need not wait for peace; where the soldiers go, relief must follow. Rehabilitation activities may continue, however, for years; Hoover's job was not done until 1923.

Finally, a well-thought-out rehabilitation program will assist the people of Europe and Asia to revive their own economies so that they will be able to participate in world commerce and thus stabilize world politics.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

AFTER FIFTEEN YEARS of non-recognition, it is curiously moving to see the beginnings of a rapprochement between "these great peoples," as President Roosevelt calls them, "two great republics," as President Kalinin calls them—Russia and the United States. . . . In short, the Bolshevik has come out from behind those whiskers and appears to look about like anybody else, with the important exception that he holds in his hands large contracts for the purchase of American goods.—*November 1, 1933.*

THE VOTERS of New York City have elected Fiorello H. LaGuardia and the majority of the candidates on the Fusion ticket. . . . This is distinctly a popular victory. . . . Philadelphia voters likewise rose en masse and . . . ousted the Vare machine, . . . whose fraudulent election tactics were sufficient to keep Pennsylvania in the Republican column in the last national election. In Bridgeport, Connecticut, a Socialist landslide resulted in the election of Jasper McLevy and thirteen Socialist aldermen out of sixteen. . . . Prohibition received its expected coup de grâce when Utah, Pennsylvania, and Ohio provided the votes needed for repeal.—*November 15, 1933.*

THE PORTRAIT of the old-time banker was that of a shrewd, hard man who would exact the highest interest he could get and foreclose on a defaulting debtor without mercy. But he was personally honest . . . and scrupulous in regarding himself as a trustee for his depositors and stockholders. . . . Since the Coolidge era the portrait . . . has been painted over. . . . The banker has lost the fiduciary capacity. . . . He is no longer a trustee of any but his own interests.—*November 15, 1933.*

COULD ANYTHING be more typical of a certain type of German mind than Hitler's "triumph" in the election just held? You suppress all opposition parties, you lock up in concentration camps your chief political opponents, you control the entire press, the radio, and the stage, you threaten anybody who dares oppose you, you send Brown Shirts to make sure that everybody votes for the only men you have permitted to be nominated for public office, and then when you have thus dragooned the voters into giving you a 92 per cent vote you turn to the rest of the world and say: "See how the entire nation stands behind me!"—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *November 29, 1933.*

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Diary of the Future

BY VERNON BARTLETT

[*This is the third instalment of "a cautionary tale . . . a rash attempt to write history before it has happened," by a distinguished British journalist and member of Parliament. The diary begins on June 30, 194–, as Germany is on the point of collapse, and goes on to record a period of intense excitement and confusion as military problems give place to political problems. A fourth instalment will appear next week.*]

III. The Ununited Nations

AUGUST 1. There are now three distinct forms of military control in Europe. There is the army of occupation in Germany—mainly American and British, with "token" contingents from the smaller Allied nations. The Russians have not yet decided whether they will cooperate in this force, and their troops alone are in charge of the area east of the River Oder.

The second military control is in Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Hungary, where many of the old officials—in Hungary far too many—have been kept in their jobs. Here the armies have only had to hand over their aircraft and heavy guns and tanks to the Allies and to disband most of the men they had under arms.

The third military control is in the form of "United Nations Auxiliary Police" in the territories of the United Nations formerly occupied by Germany.

August 2. In the old days poor devils of refugees, political or racial, would hide for days in ditches and briar clumps until a chance came to cross the German frontier and to escape from slavery or death. The traffic now flows in the other direction. United Nations frontier guards are always coming across German soldiers or S. S. men trying to escape back into Germany from one or another of the countries they used to occupy.

General von Stülpnagel, the former military governor of Paris, was caught some days ago disguised as an Alsatian peasant. All men so arrested are sent to special concentration camps. As soon as possible they will be examined by the political police of the countries from which they have fled, and many of them will be held as war criminals.

August 4. Debate in the American Senate on the ending of "lend-lease" except for material to be used exclusively against the Japanese. Several speakers dealt with eventual repayment for goods that have been delivered under the system.

Meanwhile the Office of War Information is in trouble again because it has ventured to point out that repayment can only be made in goods, especially since almost all the gold is already in the United States. Sir Walter Layton, who is just back from Washington, sees very little hope of a more liberal policy toward imports. However ready Americans may be to cooperate internationally, the man in Main Street does not yet realize that this involves a freer exchange of goods and thus an increase in American imports.

August 5. Dr. Melville Mackenzie, formerly of the Health Section of the League of Nations, is back in London from a quick tour of Europe. He's very worried about the supply of medical requirements; although he has been working on these problems during the war, they are graver than he had estimated. For one thing, conditions in Eastern Europe are still too unsettled to enable supplies to be distributed, and it's there that typhus and other epidemics are likely to gain their greatest hold. For another, there's a good deal of competition with the military for trains and other transport. The generals, naturally enough, want to enforce order throughout Germany and the liberated countries as soon as they can, and they want a lot of transport for the purpose.

Typhus, according to Mackenzie, will inevitably carry off thousands of older people. Fifty thousand people in Poland are believed to have died of it in the first two and a half years of the war. But he anticipates a terrible lot of malaria as well, and while the Japs still hold out there won't be much quinine available. He confessed that his greatest anxiety of all was the new epidemic of what had been called "Polish influenza." Despite the favorable season of the year, it is already causing many thousands of deaths in Southeastern Europe. Our own forces there have been able to shake off its effects fairly quickly, but the inhabitants are far too undernourished to do so.

August 9. Dateline, Berlin. Very uncomfortable flight as the few priority passengers were squeezed up among great boxes of medical requirements. Charlie Wythe Williams, who is doing a lot of broadcasting, and Bill Hillman, of *Collier's,* were fellow-passengers.

Called at Cologne to land urgent medical supplies. Bill Hillman, Wythe Williams, and I felt very conspicuous, as we are all fat and the Germans aren't—not any more. A few minor German officials about, all horribly obsequious. I almost prefer them in their other mood.

One of the doctors on the airplane told me that conditions in Belgium, where he is stationed, are infinitely

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worse than in Germany. After the last war most of the kids I saw on my first visit to Essen had rickets, and I have always been amazed by the way in which, thanks very much to the cult of the sun, they grew up brown and fit physically. But they were diseased and warped mentally and so became easily the dupes of Hitler. We shall certainly need a hell of a lot of wisdom if the millions of half-starved kids between Moscow and Madrid are to develop into reasonable and contented human beings. What a job to tackle, and what a lot of people at home and in the States who are unwilling to tackle it!

I found Berlin inexpressibly drab. Our own lack of paint in London has had a melancholy effect. But Berlin was always an ugly city, and is much more so today. The Brandenburger Tor has been destroyed, and so have the Dom and a good many buildings along Unter den Linden. The Inter-Allied Commissioner is established in Hitler's *Reichskanzlerei*—again one is struck by the need for a United Nations flag. It would look swell on the flagstaff where the swastika used to fly.

The Berlin branch of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has taken over a lot of buildings in the Potsdamerstrasse and is besieged by Germans who want to explain to somebody that they always loved the Americans and the British, and would like to help in the organization of food distribution, especially if they could receive some kind of diplomatic protection while doing so. I'm told that some of the highest American and British officials are only too ready to listen to these Germans, especially to the ones who were known in banking or business circles before the war. Too many of these fellows have bobbed up because they are business men and the distribution of food is allegedly a business, and not a political, job. According to Eric Gedye, who has the next room to mine in the hotel, no Social Democrat is given more than the briefest interview, although they did make some effort after the last war to introduce democracy into Germany, and might have been much more successful if they had received any encouragement from the Allies.

Went out to the Rundfunk building to broadcast back to Britain. The broadcasting station has been taken over jointly by the American Office of War Information and the British Political Warfare Executive. Glad to find Wally Carroll, with whom I went to Russia in 1941, and David Woodward, an old newspaper colleague, on the OWI staff.

They've not yet been allowed to begin the work of reeducation in the broadcasts to Germans, as there is no agreement between Washington, Moscow, and London about the kind of Germans we want. Their job, therefore, consists mainly of issuing orders on behalf of the Allied Commander-in-Chief or the High Commissioner. There are scores of such orders every day in the absence of any German administration.

August 10. Spent all the morning talking to different people working in the Inter-Allied High Commissariat, now installed in the German Foreign Office in the Wilhelmstrasse, next door to the High Commissioner's official residence. The staff seems to consist of national groups hardly on speaking terms with each other. There is none of that admirable cooperation that General Eisenhower managed to institute between the armies of the United Nations in Tunisia. We are now suffering from the fact that the State Department and the Foreign Office each cultivated different groups of Free Germans, Free Italians, Free Hungarians, and so on, during the war.

Bill Stoneman has turned up on a quick tour that has taken him to Paris, Brussels, Rotterdam, Oslo, and Copenhagen. In each country all the Quislings have been murdered. The revenge has been particularly violent in Norway, where a kindly, peaceful people has been provoked by terrible oppression during the war. He finds the French disappointingly unprepared for a sensible peace. People to whom he talked in Paris were interested only in food, the return of their prisoners of war from Germany, and the establishment of a system of old-type alliances round Germany. The Belgians and the Dutch are in grave danger of famine since they have dense populations and the Germans stole almost their entire livestock. In these countries, and also in Denmark and Norway, he met many people who talked wistfully of becoming members of the British Commonwealth. The American Deputy High Commissioner for Western Europe told him he believed this to be the result of British propaganda.

Bill Stoneman is extremely depressed by the amount of Anglo-American friction he has found in each one of the countries he has visited. This confirms everything I hear from every newspaper colleague. In the Prime Minister's desire to do nothing which could possibly offend President Roosevelt or add to his task of keeping the American people interested in Europe, the British are held to have acquiesced in an American policy which is extremely unpopular throughout Europe. Despite statements made in Washington, it does seem to be true that many American officials of the UNRRA are—against the will of Governor Lehman—coupling relief supplies with political conditions. Stoneman is very angry with the British, who have so much more experience of Europe than the Americans, for making so little protest against a policy which may, in his view, embitter Europe against the Anglo-Saxons and increase rivalries inside Europe for a generation to come. Philip Jordan, who is in Budapest, happened to telephone while Bill was still with me, and they exchanged views with a frankness which must have caused a lot of worry to the military censor.

Philip says that the situation in Budapest is scandalous. Both British and American officials are "appeasing" as

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hard as they can. The British deputy commissioner used to stay with aristocratic Hungarian families for the shooting—in the old days when one shot animals and not men—and is all amiability to any of these aristocrats who happen not to have cooperated actively and openly with the Nazis. When Philip expostulated about this, the reply he got was that we had to work in with these people because there weren't any others. In other words, since 40 per cent of the land belongs to a few hundred families and most of the peasants have less than one acre of their own, there is no middle class. And since there is no middle class or highly organized working class, we must see that one doesn't develop; therefore we are bolstering up an aristocracy that managed to avoid a land reform even after the last war.

Dieckhoff

By playing in with these aristocrats we are confirming all Russian suspicions of our motives, especially as governments run by these aristocrats had sent armies to fight side by side with the Germans on Russian soil. The Soviet Ambassador has already brought this matter up several times in his talks with Anthony Eden, but no improvement has followed.

Just before I left London, Ridsdale and the other lads in the Foreign Office News Department were very worried about Russia's silence regarding Poland. Stoneman suggested that the Soviet Union would go on receiving, and publicizing, requests from all kinds of organizations in Poland to be incorporated as a state in the Soviet Union, at least until the British and Americans had made it clear that their own policy was not to encourage people in Hungary or elsewhere who must be prejudiced, for class as well as national reasons, against the Russians.

August 11. Had a very embarrassing meeting with Dieckhoff, former ambassador at Washington and Madrid. In the old days I always found him much more reasonable and entertaining than most German officials, and he was certainly well aware that Hitler, encouraged by Ribbentrop, was leading his country to war.

I met Dieckhoff as I was walking across the Tiergarten. We saw each other simultaneously, and we each quite obviously wondered whether we should recognize each other. It seemed stupid not to; so we sat on a bench and talked. He was so anxious to excuse himself for continuing in the diplomatic service despite the actions of his government that I concluded his conscience was giving him trouble. But it was just the behavior of these people who knew the difference between right and wrong but who never had the guts to stand up for the right which enabled thugs to run Europe.

When Dieckhoff got up to go, a man on a nearby bench also arose. I wondered who he was, and Dieckhoff explained that he was under a kind of open arrest as he was on the C list of war criminals—a list of men who had not been Nazis but had held responsible posts under the Nazi regime. He was therefore—and quite rightly—under constant surveillance.

Spent the afternoon on a prolonged walk through Berlin. Prostitution is already growing very rapidly, and I imagine quite half the girls on the Kurfürstendamm were new at the business. Any of them would rather have a cake of soap than a bunch of Reichsmarks.

I would hazard the forecast that even if no harsh terms are imposed upon Germany at all—and they certainly will be—the German people will not recover for generations to come. Two world wars and world defeats in a generation, one period of inflation and the prospect of another, the terrific casualties on the eastern front, and the knowledge that they have won the hatred of the whole world have utterly demoralized them. Worst of all, the labor movement has been so effectively wiped out that the people see no alternative to the kind of authoritarian government that Hitler gave them. It looks as if perhaps for years to come the United Nations would have to run Germany.

There is still a great hesitation about using Germans who have come out of the concentration camps. The excuse is that many internees were Nazis who happened to have quarreled with more important Nazis and to have been shut up for doing so. But there remains the fact that the Nazis only polled one-third of all the votes at the last free elections ever held—in November, 1932—and that in the first three years of Hitler's domination it was found necessary to sentence a quarter of a million people to imprisonment, in addition to the far greater number shut up in concentration camps with no trial at all. It's impossible to tell how many genuine "safe" Germans are still alive and in decent health; the disquieting fact is that no effort is being made to find out. Very reluctantly I am driven more and more to believe that neither the British nor the American government wants to have anything to do with such people, because both these governments still refuse to face the fact that, for the ordinary man in the street, the war was rather against a dominating and selfish class of men who are to be found everywhere but were particularly strong in Germany than against all Germans. For us it was a war against dictatorships; for our governments it was a war against a rival nation.

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Water Has Gone to War

BY RICHARD W. ABBOTT

AFTER winging their way for hours over occupied territory the men huddled in the nineteen Lancasters knew that in a matter of seconds their objective would be reached. Slowly at first and then with increasing speed the bombers bore down on their targets until only fifty feet separated them from the water below. Now the target was dead ahead, and the bombardiers let loose their big 1,500-pound mines. Some exploded in the water with ear-shattering noise and little other effect. Others landed fairly on their target—the dams in the Ruhr valley.

Almost half of the big Lancasters did not see England again, but the damage they caused that night was worth the loss. Three big dams in Westphalia were shattered—the Mohne dam, the Eder dam, and the Sorpe dam. The industrial loss was tremendous. Thousands of workers were rendered homeless, and power stations were made useless for at least a year—until the damage could be repaired and the huge reservoirs refilled.

There was great elation in Allied headquarters when the full results of the raid were learned from reconnaissance photographs. The Berlin radio called it typical of the work of the R. A. F., with the destruction confined as usual to schools, churches, hospitals, and homes.

Soon, however, the Berlin radio was reporting the news of another flood—this time with high glee. Floods were sweeping across the American Middle West, and the German propagandists made the most of them. Fertile bottom land had been seeded to corn, wheat, and other crops which were expected to fill America's and the world's bread basket for the coming year—the year when demands upon American farmers would be heavier than they had ever been before, the year when occupied Europe might once again be free and clamoring for American food. Farmers were in despair as the water rose in the river banks and then spilled over in a roaring flood which devastated their fields. War factories were forced to close. At Weldon Springs, Missouri, the water inched its way into a TNT plant and also cut off the supply of raw materials. Three other war plants in the same area were flooded, and the story was the same up and down the valleys of the rivers.

When the waters went down, the damage was totaled as 21 dead, 160,000 homeless, 2,000,000 seeded acres of farm land lost to food production, innumerable war plants stopped or slowed down, and an incalculable number of man-hours lost. The Big Inch pipe line was broken in Arkansas by flood waters, and the flow of oil to the east was reduced at a time when reserves were being stored for the invasion of Sicily and Italy.

John Hughes, an Illinois farmer, was a typical flood victim. Like most farmers, Hughes had been struggling all the year against the shortage of labor, of farm-machinery parts, and of seed and fertilizer. By herculean efforts he had managed to get his 160 acres of bottom land seeded, in between rains. He watched the waters ruin his fields, drown part of his livestock and poultry, and flood his home. Hughes has two sons in the army and was eager to replant his acres. But the seed scarcity and the lateness of the season were almost insuperable obstacles.

The most appalling thing about the flood was that it could have been prevented—even though our earlier flood-control programs have not worked, as a glance at the record makes clear. Take the Upper Mississippi flood-control project, for example. Some years ago, after the disastrous 1933 flood, Congress authorized the army engineers to build a series of flood-control dams on the Mississippi River between St. Paul and St. Louis. Twenty-six dams were proposed, and at the time of Pearl Harbor approximately three-quarters of them had been completed. Yet they were of little help this spring. Alton, Illinois, which is situated twenty miles north of St. Louis, above the mouth of the Missouri River, is the site of Dam No. 26. Flood waters at Alton this spring were the second highest since the city was founded in 1814.

Another count against huge dams of this kind is the fact that even if they were effective in controlling floods their period of usefulness would be limited by the silting up of the reservoir area. Silting occurs when the current slows down as it comes into the backwater of the dam and deposits the soil which it has carried along with it. This fact seems to have been ignored by the army engineers in their dam-construction work for flood control. Congress too has been primarily interested in construction rather than maintenance, since the letting of contracts for building the dams offers excellent opportunities for pork-barrel politics.

At the present time Congress is considering the appropriation of $100,000,000 to enable the War Department to meet the most urgent flood-control needs. In addition, the War Department is planning gigantic post-war flood-control projects. If these are along the same old lines, the money will be wasted and the consequences may be tragic. Recent studies carried on in Texas have shown that the average life of a flood-control dam is between

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twenty and forty years when no erosion-control work is done on the watershed of the river system. At the end of that time silt has so filled up the reservoirs that they no longer serve their purpose. Can we afford to have another disastrous flood in, say, thirty years, when America may again be at war for its existence?

Because the estimated damage to the railroads from floods this year was over $10,000,000, the Association of American Railroads is seeking money from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to relocate roadbeds. C. P. Couch, chairman of the board of the Kansas City and Southern and the Louisiana and Arkansas railroads, said before a Senate committee, "Steps must be taken to protect the nation's railroads from these recurring interruptions. They're acts of God over which we have no control." What Mr. Couch should have said is that rainfall is an act of God over which we have no control—not floods. By using our intelligence and forgetting pork-barrel politics, we *can* prevent floods. But we must not rely on dams and levees on the big rivers. We must tackle the problem at its source—back on the watersheds where the small streams rise.

A river system should be thought of as a network of streams flowing down from every hill and ravine. It is in the hills that floods start, and it is there that they should be controlled. The Tennessee Valley Authority has effectively demonstrated this principle. On the streams feeding into the Tennessee River it has constructed dams at strategic locations to form reservoir areas in times of heavy rainfall. Farther back in the ravines and along the small creeks it has built "check" dams. These may be nothing more than log or earth barriers which individually impound only a small amount of water, but collectively they impound huge amounts.

However, building dams, large or small, is only part of the job of flood control. As a nation we have been exceedingly extravagant with our soil and forest resources. At first thought this may seem to have little significance in flood prevention. But consider that a pound of humus material in the soil will hold nine pounds of water and the relationship can be clearly seen. When top soil is eroded, when forests are overcut or burned, precious humus is lost. With effective forest-fire control and regulated cutting the amount of water draining off in flood times could be materially reduced.

Soil-conservation work is also important in flood control. Terracing, strip cropping, and contour plowing are big aids in slowing down water runoff. Such work is essential if silting up of even small reservoirs is to be prevented.

To sum up: floods must be controlled not by building huge dams and levees on the main river systems but by the use of small dams at strategic locations on the tributary streams. Check dams should be built on the small creeks flowing into these tributaries. Adequate forest-fire control must be accomplished, and proper cutting methods of timber must be not only encouraged but made mandatory. Soil conservation work should be expanded to reach every farm.

In time of war or peace America is no richer than its soil and water resources. We must see that they are used wisely and well.

In the Wind

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE: "Flip Quiz," a children's game manufactured by Selchow and Righter, New York, includes the question, "Who commanded the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War?" The answer provided is "General Franco." The manufacturer has no explanation of how the mistake was made, and reports that there have been no complaints thus far. . . . One of the definitions in a recent cross-word puzzle published by the New York *Times* was "Famous Ukrainian patriot." The patriot was Petlura, who with German help fought the Bolsheviks in 1918.

DR. ALFRED BAAKE of Chicago, a spokesman for the National Civic Federation, comes out for collective bargaining: "It is to the interest of organized labor for business to have the right to bargain with labor without interference of government."

THE *RUBICON*, an Italian-American news letter, offers this explanation of the destruction in Italy: "The civilizing work of two thousand years, which was only scratched by the various invaders of Italy who were supposed to have been uncivilized, has been destroyed in great part by the military machine of civilized nations that were fighting for democracy against autocracy."

FESTUNG EUROPA: Many reports from France tell of patriots writing "Vive De Gaulle!" in public places. There has been no report thus far that anyone has written "Vive Giraud!" . . . German-language underground newspapers are circulating among Germans in Norway. . . . Since the Norwegians have had to give up all their firearms, the bears, wolves, foxes, and wolverines in their country have been increasing at an alarming rate. And the wild animals no longer show any fear of man. . . . A Nazi paper in Prague explains the military situation with this quotation from Clausewitz: "Defense is the more effective form of warfare for insuring the defeat of the enemy."

CORRECTION: It was stated in this column on October 23 that Prince Hubertus zu Loewenstein's draft classification was 4-c, the category of refugees who want to defeat Hitler but don't want to shoot Germans. This was an error, for which we apologize. The Prince, a pre-Pearl Harbor father, is in Classification 3-a.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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The Swiss Barometer

BY MAX MANDELLAUB

THE last twenty-five years have witnessed the progressive degeneration of the classic conception of neutrality as defined by international law. Still, the oldest European republic, with a deeply imbedded tradition of neutrality that has withstood centuries of wars and revolutions, has again succeeded, at least technically, in maintaining its status as a neutral country.

Though Swiss neutrality today undoubtedly lacks many of the constituents formerly regarded as essential, it cannot be denied that the homeland of the legendary William Tell preserves at least some aspects of its independence: Swiss and not German soldiers control the sources of the Rhine; Swiss and not German soldiers watch the most important mountain pass linking Germany and Italy. The Swiss militiaman, with his modern equipment and good training, is ready behind his wall of Alpine granite.

Hitler prefers Swiss neutrality to guerrilla warfare in the Alps and the blowing up of the St. Gotthard tunnel. Of course, German-Swiss relations and commercial clearing agreements contain an imperious "give and take," and Hitler takes more than he gives. The latest British black list contains the names of many Swiss firms reliably reported to be cooperating extensively with the enemy. The big Swiss armament company, Gebrüder Sulzer, one of the world's foremost manufacturers of Diesel engines, has been added to the list of "hostile firms." The owner of this newly blacklisted concern is Dr. Hans Sulzer, former Swiss Minister in Washington, who last year headed a commercial delegation from the Swiss Confederation negotiating for a softening of the British blockade. The Swiss people themselves, however, watch closely those among them who do business with Hitler, whether it is in machine tools or apples, electricity or cheese, anti-aircraft guns or cows.

On the eve of World War II all Swiss political parties made the solemn promise that if Switzerland once more succeeded in staying out of the war, the suffering of a bleeding world should not be a source of enrichment. Now there is again a good deal of talk about Swiss corporations making huge war profits. "The pay of excessive dividends is social dynamite," warns a liberal paper in Basel. Even the cautious *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* has said that many enterprises are again earning huge profits and paying high dividends, but it added, "After all, this is a time of prosperity for industry."

In spite of a continuous and insidious Nazi propaganda there are relatively few fascist sympathizers among the Swiss people, though the number has varied with Hitler's victories or failures. Intellectuals—students, lawyers, physicians, journalists, and civil-service employees—have been less resistant to fascist poison than the peasant or worker. Fascists are more militant in the French part of Switzerland than in the German and Italian parts.

The sudden collapse of the French Republic revealed the intimate relationship existing between Swiss neutrality and a strong independent France. With the establishment of the Vichy government, the political picture at Berne showed the influence of Pétain and Laval. By midsummer, 1940, M. Pilet-Golaz, head of the Swiss State Department, made a speech which was taken by the people as an abdication of Swiss neutrality and as such bitterly resented. Semi-official Swiss newspapers expressed admiration for the military skill of the German Panzer divisions, praised the realism of French collaborationists, and hoped for a privileged position in Hitler's New Europe. Colonel H. K. Sonderegger, a deputy from Basel-Land, "in agreement with a certain foreign power" proposed to several high politicians the overthrow of democracy and the establishment of a new government composed of Frontists (Swiss Nazis) and other elements sympathetic to Berlin.

Only after the surrender of Italy was much publicity given to the activities of the Swiss fascists. Two deputies, MM. Gadient and Bratschi, who were involved in the Nazi conspiracy, tried to divert public attention by violently attacking "unpatriotic" elements among the Swiss liberals. Strangely enough, the Colonel and his supporters were never brought to trial, though the Colonel was politely invited to hand in his resignation as deputy four months before his term expired. A few months ago it was stated officially that Deputy Sonderegger could not be punished for high treason, ". . . since he had not succeeded in carrying out his intentions."

The progressive parties are now much encouraged by the defeat of Italian fascism and the certitude of Hitler's eventual fall. A few months ago *Die Tat,* the organ of an aggressive independent politician, M. Duttweiler, demanded a radical change in Swiss foreign policy and stated that the head of the Swiss Department of State, "as a friend and protector of the Frontist-Nazi traitors," was no longer an acceptable leader of his country.

Such are the conditions under which the general elections to the National Council (Swiss Parliament) and in

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WHO WAS RIGHT?

For two years this section has maintained that Franco and his Falange were 100 per cent pro-Axis and that they were aiding the enemies of the United Nations by every means in their power. We denounced as the most unrealistic form of appeasement a policy based upon the expectation that Franco would come over to our side as soon as he felt free to do so. Many persons, including Archbishop Spellman, thought otherwise. The Archbishop, in his famous article in Collier's, *spoke of Franco in terms of warmest approval. In view of the congratulations which Franco has recently offered the Filipino traitor Laurel, we think we are entitled to inquire—Who was right?*

many cantons to the Council of State (Swiss Senate) took place on October 30 and 31 of this year.

In 1939 the Swiss people elected a Parliament composed of 187 members. The strongest party, the Liberals, obtained 49 seats. Closely following them came the Socialists with 45 seats and the Catholic Conservatives with 43. The other parties shared the rest of the seats. During the life of this outgoing Parliament certain political changes took place. An important and militant group of the Swiss labor movement headed by Léon Nicole was outlawed and its parliamentary representation annulled by a majority vote of the House. This procedure was anti-constitutional, but political, not juridical, reasons prevailed. Nazi hegemony in Europe was behind this suppression of the strongest party in Geneva.

Throughout his entire political career Nicole had been an ardent anti-fascist. In his newspaper *Le Travail* he had exposed the subversive activities of many Swiss reactionaries long before the collapse of France brought definite proof of their treason. It was therefore bewildering when a well-known Swiss liberal, William E. Rappard, instead of protesting against such an open violation of the Swiss Bill of Rights, used the opportunity to enter Parliament.

But outlawing a progressive movement does not necessarily mean destroying its impetus. The military setbacks of Nazi Germany in 1942 and 1943 and the ever-increasing social tension in Switzerland have changed the political tone of the Swiss Socialist Party. In 1941 only a few Socialist leaders opposed the proscription of Nicole's party and its widely read daily newspaper. Now the pressure of the masses has become so strong that the Labor Congress held in September voted almost unanimously for a resolution advocating the legalizing of the prohibited group. Many bourgeois liberals have also taken up its cause; ten thousand signed a petition urging "the repeal of an untenable violation of democratic rights." Thereupon Nicole and his son were put in jail, accused of illegal communistic activity.

In May, 1943, in the municipal election in Geneva a newly founded labor party obtained the largest number of mandates, twenty-six, the Liberal Party coming next with nineteen. The authorities could prevent the traditional Socialist Party in Geneva from participating in the vote, but they could not hinder the election of a "labor list" presented, in spite of many difficulties, by Swiss citizens inspired by a sense of responsibility which that old Swiss newspaper the *Berner Tagwacht* called "the will of a social Stalingrad" against reaction at home. In the industrial center of Schaffhausen, only a few yards from the German border, the Socialist candidate, Bringolf, gathered 45 per cent of the votes cast in an election for the Senate. In the canton of Vaud an opposition candidate almost succeeded in replacing the reactionary incumbent. In Zurich the Independent Party headed by M. Duttweiler and the Socialists made good progress in the cantonal elections. In Basel the progressive movement proved its strength in several plebiscites.

The elections of two weeks ago determined the political make-up of the new Swiss Parliament. The Socialists made gains almost everywhere and are now for the first time the strongest political faction in the National Council; their 56 seats represent an increase of nearly 25 per cent over 1939. The so-called Liberal Party lost two seats and now ranks second with 47 deputies. The Catholic Conservatives maintained an unchanged representation of 43. The smaller parties together have 48. However, the coalition in power did not lose its majority, and the Swiss Senate was little affected by the new political trend. The question of Socialist participation in the federal government will be the main issue of the coming months and may lead to a bitter controversy among labor leaders.

Vast changes have taken place in the past four years, but they will probably seem unimportant beside the developments of the future. The Swiss people are marching forward. They demand full employment with decent wages and the living democracy promised by the Swiss constitution. Their hope lies in the fighting peoples of the United Nations. If a poll were taken today to determine whether the Swiss people want a victory of the Anglo-Americans or of the Germans, 95 per cent would be in favor of the United States and Great Britain. If they were asked whether they wanted a victory of Soviet Russia or of Germany, an overwhelming majority would still be against Germany.

Switzerland was not defeated by Hitler, but the defeat of France disclosed Swiss Pétains and Lavals. Switzerland was not looted by Hitler, but the looting of Nazi-controlled Europe had its equivalent in Switzerland in Nazi "clearing dictates." Swiss democracy was not crushed by the Gestapo, but the crushing of democracy in Europe forced legal labor movements to go underground. No Hapsburg, no Franco, no Darlan looms as potential head of a post-war Switzerland, but the inevitability of a revo-

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lutionary situation in Europe is not accepted without apprehension. Geographic and political frontiers have lost their meaning. In the pulse of the Swiss people sounds the heartbeat of the people of Europe fighting for the promised century of the common man.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

THE city of Hanover was heavily bombed at the end of September and again in the second week of October. On October 14 the newspapers contained a number of decrees issued by the Gauleiter of the province, Lauterbacher. One of them ran:

> I have reasons for repeating emphatically the decree issued after the previous raid—namely, that offices handling assistance for persons whose homes have been destroyed or damaged by bombs must keep open even after office hours. All office hours are suspended. This applies not only to the city of Hanover but to all districts and communes which have received évacués. Moreover, I request party and state offices under all circumstances to help people even if they are not directly under their jurisdiction. It must be remembered that Hanoverians have spent trying nights and that a great many of them have been obliged to make great sacrifices. They are entitled to attention and polite treatment. I expect swift action, with no bureaucratic delays, in all cases.

A second decree granted the inhabitants an extra week's rations—two ounces of coffee, half a bottle of brandy, one-quarter of a pound of bread, and three-quarters of a pound of meat. A third was worth noting, in the first place, for its heading, "Hanover Will Be Held." It went on to forbid the more important state and party offices to move away.

> The housing shortage caused by the September and October raids necessitates the removal of some offices to other places in the district. But I hereby issue a drastic precautionary order that the responsible main offices are to remain in the capital of the district and province. No exceptions will be allowed. Hanover will be held under all circumstances!

The problem of "holding" Hanover—an expression customarily applied only to a besieged town or sector of the front—must be a difficult one, for two days before these decrees Gauleiter Lauterbacher had published another, entitled "Hanoverians, Listen!" describing the gravest danger of the moment. "After heavy air raids the enemy tries to undermine the population's fortitude by circulating lying rumors through broadcasts and agents. Such efforts must be opposed energetically and unitedly." And then he announced how they were to be opposed: to every person was given the right to arrest any other person; everybody was to be his own policeman. "I therefore order and authorize every citizen to arrest all rumormongers and take them to the nearest party or state office. Whoever fails to do this makes himself an accomplice and will be treated accordingly."

"Armament plants in general cannot count on obtaining many new workers. Therefore more efficient employment of the man-power now available is a matter of the gravest interest." This was the comment of the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* of October 20 on the establishment of a new branch in the already gigantic bureaucracy of war industries.

The head of the new bureau bears the title of "Reich Engineer for Labor Utilization." Under him work thirty-four "district engineers for labor utilization," and under these are five thousand "factory engineers for labor utilization." All factories employing as many as three hundred workers come under the jurisdiction of this office, which is to introduce "far-reaching changes in the utilization of labor," over the heads of the factory managers and other officers. Many of these far-reaching changes will of course be technical, but not all. Reforms in the art of "handling people" are also on the program. "Willingness to work is as important as manual or mental skill." In short, the new bureau was created to "overcome inertia, which is often very stubborn."

"If we trace the most idiotic and mischievous rumors to their source," declared the Gauleiter of Salzburg at a meeting on October 8, "we never find that they originate with the common people, who are doing their work heroically and with an exemplary sense of duty. They come invariably from quite different strata, from people who do not share the common burdens and sacrifices. But we will get at them!"

Behind the tactic of representing "the better people" as the only oppositionists is the desire to arouse suspicion of the opposition in the mind of the masses, as well as the Nazis' real fear of what they call "the reaction." Once before, at the time of Stalingrad, this theme was worked furiously. Then Goebbels gradually let it lapse. But since the appointment of Himmler as Minister of the Interior it has again been intensively cultivated, and not merely rhetorically. Of late quite a number of "the better people" have been executed.

Some cases have been mentioned in this column. D. N. B., the official German news service, announced the latest with a certain enjoyment. For the first time in Germany a bank director had been brought to the scaffold and beheaded. It was only a banker from the medium-sized city of Hindenburg in Schlesien, but others may follow. The crime of the fifty-six-year-old George Miethe was "persistently to spread treacherous and seditious rumors among his employees. His behavior was especially reprehensible because he misused his position as leader of an enterprise."

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BOOKS and the ARTS

China's Revolutionary Tradition

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By Tsui Chi. With a Preface by Laurence Binyon. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $4.

WHEN a modern Chinese sets out to write the history of his country for use in powerful Western countries with records of racial prejudice and national aggression, he might be expected to coat its weaknesses with a liberal layer of whitewash. He might also be expected to become lost in the maze of an ancient civilization that stretches from the first legendary beginnings in 2697 B.C., or earlier, down to the living present. Mr. Tsui Chi, an erudite Chinese scholar, has avoided both pitfalls and has produced a relatively short, graphic, and most interesting volume. Only in the later chapters about modern China and Chinese personalities does he apply whitewash, and even then he tries to be objective.

The first thing that Americans complain about, in books on China, is the names of Chinese cities and towns, and of Chinese personages. However, the Chinese, like Americans, have names, and their use can't be helped. Such names abound here, but it is not necessary to remember more than a few of them, for this book deals not merely with the rise and fall of dynasties, wars and more wars, and revolutions upon revolutions that overthrew decaying and corrupt dynasties; it is primarily a record of Chinese thought and China's civilized achievements in philosophy, literature, art, and science. A sparkling stream of folklore, mingled with social awareness, enlivens the book, bringing it close to the common reader and at times making it as fascinating as a novel. On the social side the book reveals the common man of China rising throughout history to destroy oppression and corruption. This revolutionary basis of Chinese history is not confined to the ancient past but also holds today, and modern Chinese history must be considered in its light. Instead of scaring Americans to death, it ought to bring China closer to us and our own history and illuminate for us the democratic nature of the Chinese people. The words of an ancient historian who explained the downfall of the great Han dynasty in 220 A.D. might be legitimately applied to the present: "When the footpaths of the rich ran across every field and the benefits of streams and mountains were monopolized by them, the poor hadn't enough ground on which to rest the end of an awl."

Mr. Tsui not only justifies the doctrine of Confucianism as necessary during times of decay but also analyzes it for what it is: a feudal, social philosophy of conservatism, heavy with formalism, exaggerated ceremony and ritual, which was fought by the great natural, equalitarian philosophies of Lao-tze and Mo-tze. In brief graphic passages the author also analyzes the social philosophies of other thinkers, such as Hanfei, who advocated a reign of law and the equality of all men before the law.

People interested in the development of painting, pottery, sculpture, and early Chinese inventions such as printing, paper-making, the compass, and gunpowder, will find this book of great interest. The rise and influence of Buddhism upon China, and the liberality with which Chinese rulers received and welcomed the first Christian priests, are pregnant with meaning. China had no prejudices against Christianity until a Papal Bull attempted to tell Chinese Christians how to conduct themselves. The first Jesuit priests to China were welcomed as the bearers of Western sciences such as astronomy, arithmetic, and cartography. But the impact of Christianity upon China in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries became intricately mingled with foreign commercial aggression. The early Western business men trading with China were half-pirate, and their true nature was revealed in the British opium wars which forced opium upon China. The unequal treaties which followed gave foreign missionaries special rights and privileges. Had Christianity been as non-aggressive as Buddhism, its influence on the Far East might have been entirely different.

Americans may disregard many of the countless Chinese names in this book, but not that of Wang An-shih, the great reformer, Premier under one of the Sung emperors. Wang An-shih was a man so modern that he might have lived in the present. One century after the founding of the Sung dynasty in 960 A.D., the dynasty was tottering under a burden of decay, with luxury and corruption undermining the country. A powerful landlord class had again risen, and the peasants groaned under fearful burdens, including usurious debts and heavy taxation. There were foreign wars and social uprisings. The story of the rise of the people is preserved for us in the famous Shui Hu tales which Pearl Buck has translated in "All Men Are Brothers." The Sung court turned to religion and pleaded with heaven to save it.

Instead of turning to heaven, Premier Wang tried to introduce courageous and sweeping reforms, such as a national budget, a just taxation system, and the granting of generous loans at low rates of interest to the peasants. He cut down the unwieldy army and created a smaller powerful body of crack troops, and also a universal militia system.

The reforms of Wang An-shih have a modern ring. To his banner flocked all the progressives of his day—young men opposed to Confucian conservatism as well as to the corruption and injustice of the prevailing system—and out of their struggle came the great natural painting and literature of the day. But the conservatives fought Wang, much as American reactionaries fought the New Deal; and they branded him and his supporters as the Chinese equivalent of "visionaries" and "starry-eyed dreamers." Premier Wang happened to have a backbone, however, and he met his opponents head-on. Mr. Tsui says that Premier Wang was too energetic and aggressive and wanted progress too quickly, whereas the Chinese are "by nature conservative." In this respect he takes the view of the ruling class, not of the Chinese common people generally, who most assuredly welcomed every energetic reform

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which Wang An-shih introduced. But the conservatives of the time triumphed and Wang fell from favor; his sovereign soon thereafter died. Reactionaries came to power, and Wang and his supporters dared not raise their heads for many years. By that time, however, social decay had gone so far that they were recalled to power, but too late. The Mongol hordes were already advancing into China, and soon the Sung dynasty was destroyed and the foreign barbarians established the Yuan dynasty until another peasant revolution uprooted it and brought the Mings to power. The Mings in turn degenerated, and in 1621 A.D. fell before the invading Manchus, who ruled until they were overthrown by the followers of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1911.

The fate of the Chinese Republic is now known to many: years of civil war, in which all the great powers had a finger, each of them supporting any war lord who served their commercial interests. The Kuomintang as the progressive nationalist party became, after 1927, the party of the new ruling class, with the ubiquitous landlord, merchant, and modern banker taking possession and repeating a historical process. This led to the rise of the Chinese Red Army. Mr. Tsui is, I believe, utterly wrong in making a distinction between the Kuomintang and the plutocracy of modern times. They are identical.

Mr. Tsui perhaps throws a sop to America when he says that China's modern army was reorganized and trained by "Europeans and Americans." It was reorganized and trained by German military advisers, one of whom, General von Seeckt, designed the main military campaigns against the Chinese Red Army—which was another peasant revolution. Until Japan forced Hitler to withdraw the German advisers in 1938, General von Falkenhausen was the head of the German military mission. Von Falkenhausen was until recently the Nazi military dictator of the Low Countries. The Soviet Russians took the place of the Germans until recent months, when Americans have had a finger in the Chinese pie.

The description of the New Life movement as given by Mr. Tsui is also beside the point. This is a semi-fascist movement modeled on the similar organization of one Signor Mussolini. Mr. Tsui has tried to walk a tight rope in regard to recent events and personalities, but he makes a mistake when he describes Madame Chiang Kai-shek as the "mother of every wounded soldier in China."

> Madame Chiang is a woman of sincere, unpretentious character, and although she learned to admire the American political and educational system, was never captivated by the luxury and superficial brilliance of modern New York. She dresses like a simple and modest Chinese wife, and as one of the leaders of the New Life movement, she has given an example to the women of China to dress plainly, live frugally, and abjure those new-fangled frivolities which are quite out of keeping with their dignified Chinese traditions.

Mr. Tsui perhaps gets his Soong sisters mixed up. That description might apply to Madame Sun Yat-sen, but never to Madame Chiang. The paragraph was perhaps written before Madame Chiang's visit to this country with a retinue of relatives and retainers. Jade and diamonds, mink and sables, silks and satins, do not constitute frugal and plain living, and are totally out of harmony with the bitter lives of the soldiers and the common people of China.

Discounting Mr. Tsui's account of such incidents and personalities, this book is nevertheless well worth reading.

AGNES SMEDLEY

What to Do with Germany

THE HIDDEN ENEMY. By Heinz Pol. Julian Messner. $3.

HEINZ POL, a liberal, democratic German journalist, presents in this book the thesis that it would be equally catastrophic for the peace of the world if either one of two current theories about Germany were made the basis of post-war policy. One theory is "that the Nazis cannot be distinguished from the German people and that Germany as a whole is an aggressor nation." The other is "that only the Nazis are the culprits and that in order to build a new and better Germany it will be sufficient to get rid of Hitler and his crowd."

As against these two inadequate theories Mr. Pol contends that the pan-Germanism of the old military aristocracy represents a greater threat to the peace of Europe than Nazism does. He traces the rise and development of pan-Germanism in interesting historical chapters which are worth the reader's attention not only because of the immediately relevant conclusions drawn from them but also because of the light they throw upon German history.

The discriminating judgments of this book are of the greatest value at this particular juncture of history, when the passions of war and the exigencies of military strategy tend to obscure the realities of the German scene and to make a wise disposition of the German problem difficult. The passions of war invariably tempt nations to picture the foe in terms of total depravity. Vansittartism is an inevitable concomitant of conflict. Vansittart's theory is a rationalized form of the vindictiveness which always expresses itself as an overtone in war-time emotion. It leads to silly miscalculations of the complex political factors with which we must deal. It would be foolish to fight a war for democracy and fail to claim as allies the very considerable democratic elements in an enemy nation, elements which were the first to defy tyranny and to pay the price of their defiance. Some of them tried in vain to persuade the democratic world of the peril which Hitlerism represented for it as well as for Germany, and of the necessity of meeting this threat with outside as well as inside resistance. The outside resistance did not materialize until after the internal resistance was crushed. A tragic and ironic note is added to history by the fact that some of the appeasers of yesterday are the proponents today of the idea that there are no democrats in Germany.

On the other hand, military strategy may easily tempt us into the opposite peril. Democratic opposition has been crushed so thoroughly in Germany that the first crack in the Nazi structure must come through tension between the Nazi Party and the army leadership. This situation will undoubtedly give the old Junker leadership of the army the chance to offer itself as the representative of a decent Germany with which the democracies can and ought to make peace.

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HITLER'S "NEUTRAL" ALLY

IN THE EYES of our State Department Franco is neutral, but *The Nation* has insisted from the first that he is a fascist and an ally of Hitler and Mussolini. His latest actions—signing a trade pact with Mussolini and congratulating Japan's puppet President of the Philippines on his inauguration—indicate that *The Nation* is right.

In next week's issue J. Alvarez del Vayo, Foreign Minister of the last freely elected government of Spain, now editor of the Political War Section of *The Nation,* will discuss conditions in Spain today, Spanish-American relations, and the meaning of current political moves in both countries.

Even now, in November, 1943, after the Moscow Conference, Franco helps Hitler and the United States helps Franco. For a clear explanation of this curious state of affairs, read Dr. Del Vayo's article in next week's issue of

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Military strategy will make it necessary for the Allied command to deal with the army leadership; and the conservative elements in the democratic world will seek to extend this immediate necessity of military strategy into a settled political policy, calculated to prevent radical revolution. The handling of the Badoglio palace revolution in Italy is a perfect dress rehearsal of what we may expect when the German collapse comes. The danger contained in such a policy toward Germany is all the greater because there are indications that Russia favors it. The Russian propaganda for a "free Germany" is still ambiguous; but it may mean willingness to deal with the German army rather than desire for a Communist revolution.

A peace which established the Junkers in power would be as catastrophic as a peace based upon the theory of the total depravity of Germany. Mr. Pol proves conclusively that all the political objectives of the Nazis were preached by the pan-Germans long before the Nazis were heard of. As a matter of fact, Nazism is in some respects merely a lower-middle-class version of the creed of the German aristocrats. It adds certain corrupt religious overtones to their program, compounds internal tyranny with a predatory international policy, and spices the theory of racial supremacy with the specific poison of anti-Semitism. The people who worry about whether Germany can ever be cured of Nazism direct their anxiety to the wrong peril. Nazism is too corrupt to win the soul of any people permanently. But the predatory creed of German militarists is sufficiently diluted with private decency and "Christian" tradition to give it a more lasting quality. There lies the real danger.

Mr. Pol is on the right track. Nevertheless, he has given his thesis a slightly too narrow content by his emphasis upon the history of the Pan-German League and its importance in German life. The creed of pan-Germanism is undoubtedly the most specific symptom of the dangerous political orientation of the German military caste. But fully to understand the pathetic political inadequacy of modern Germany one would have to study the whole history of the German class structure with particular reference to the inability of the bourgeois and proletarian democratic forces to break the power of this military caste. Should the so-called democratic world give this caste another lease of life, our era would add a crowning folly to an age already overwhelmed by tragic futilities.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

"A New Man"

THE AMERICAN: THE MAKING OF A NEW MAN. By James Truslow Adams. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS attempts to describe and to define "a new man," the American. By "the American" he means neither the genius nor the caricature but the average John Doe. The fashioning process requires historical treatment, but the book is not narrative history. The author's conception of the American man is stated in terms of the American dream. But the American dream itself is not a single unchanging vision: it is as complex, as contradictory, as life. In my opinion—which Mr. Adams does not share—the historian returns baffled from the quest. But a pleasant

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IT CAN BE DONE!

Simply by opening its doors Sweden saved the Jewish population of nearby Denmark. Simply by opening the gates of Palestine thousands of Jews from nearby countries will save themselves.

The Germans finally "lost patience" with Denmark . . . only a few weeks ago. After years of occupation, the Nazis moved in with their harshest iron fist, with firing squads, concentration camps, martial law.

As always, the first Nazi victims were the Jews. The Nazis at once planned to deport the ENTIRE Danish Jewish population to Poland for annihilation.

BUT THE JEWS WERE SAVED!

They were saved because one small government took immediate and vigorous action. Sweden directly protested the murder-program for the Danish Jews. Sweden warned the Nazis of "serious consequences." Sweden made known that she is ready to receive and to shelter all the Jews of Denmark.

THIS WAS ENOUGH TO SAVE THE JEWS!

In spite of the fact that Denmark is a little country, under heaviest military domination, in spite of every "insurmountable" obstacle, the bulk of the Jews in Denmark escaped to safety in nearby Sweden.

They are safe because of one reason—the doors of a neighboring country were unlocked. And because of *that* fact, the escaping Jews found superhuman resources and energy and vitality to reach these doors of safety.

Not only this alone, but the German terror in Denmark has abated because of the Danish and Swedish reaction. The German propaganda passed to the *defensive,* explaining and apologizing at length why Germany was "compelled" to inaugurate the terror campaign against the Jews in Denmark. The German propagandists in their new, unprecedented, apologetic campaign tried even to argue that the measures against the Jews were not a result of political or racial considerations but only undertaken from a purely military point of view.

This is the great and historic service that Sweden and Denmark rendered to humanity and to a martyred people. They destroyed completely the legend that "nothing can be done." They have proven irrefutably that, with good will, the Jews can be saved even in the most precarious and most dangerous circumstances.

A FATEFUL CHALLENGE

When will the great and mighty democracies learn from this living and shining example of small Sweden? When will Great Britain declare that all the Jews who can escape the death trap of the Balkans and reach nearby Palestine will find an *open door* there?

For Palestine is the nearest and most practical haven. It can be reached through Turkey by train or bus. Palestine is not further from Bulgaria than Miami is from New York. Only its doors need be opened for masses of Jews to save themselves.

And other doors could be opened temporarily: the nearby island of Cyprus, the vast territories of North Africa, where the doomed Jews of Europe can find immediate temporary asylum.

This is a fateful challenge.

Through the action of Great Britain, hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of human lives will be saved. It is up to Great Britain to make known to the world, to the terror-stricken Nazi satellites and to the Godless enemy, her firm determintion to save the Jews. Salvation will follow immediately.

WE HAVE FAITH IN AMERICA

We know that the conscience and humanity of Americans will not accept a policy of inaction in a matter of life and death to millions of other human beings. We have faith that the force of your indignation will enable us to carry out plans for the rescue of European Jews before it is too late.

In this faith, we intend to carry on the struggle to get action on the part of the Governments of the United Nations.

Not only is this Committee trying to move the Governments through direct negotiations in Washington, London, Palestine and Turkey, where it has its committees or representatives, but it is also organzing sustained mass action. The pilgrimage of 500 United States orthodox rabbis to Washington, and the Week of Compassion observed by six thousand Christian churches, marked the inaugural of a petition campaign. This petition is addressed to President Roosevelt and to the Congress of the United States demanding that immediate and effective measures be taken; that a special Inter-Governmental Agency to Save the Jewish People of Europe with powers and means to act at once, and on a large scale, be created immediately.

Add your name to the millions of signatures that will make this petition a powerful instrument of public opinion.

With the active help of all humane and public-spirited Americans we shall not fail. We must not fail. The lives of millions of human beings are at stake. Democratic governments cannot resist forever the pressure of an outraged public opinion. Ultimately they must yield.

This campaign is strictly a race against time and death. Your immediate financial help will determine its scope and speed . . . and thus the rescue of a martyred people.

Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe

ONE EAST FORTY-FOURTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 2-7237

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EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE
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I hereby join your efforts to obtain immediate United Nations action to save the Jewish people of Europe. I enclose my contribution to enable you to carry out this tremendous task in the sum of

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stroll through our brief past is not time wasted, even though we should come back empty-handed. On every period Mr. Adams has shrewd and informative things to say, and he says them with that engaging, eager evenness of tone which has made him a veritable Dale Carnegie among historical writers. He is too well bred ever to challenge a cherished tradition. His mind is perfectly attuned to his own conception of "the American": the book, although not egocentric, might be considered a self-portrait. So Mr. Adams moves with naturalness and gusto in the realm of the accepted. The method breaks down only when he touches upon foreign problems. His few references to Europe seem to me painfully "safe and sound" in the worst sense of the terms: the safe almost empty, and the sound chiefly sound.

I fully agree with Mr. Adams that in order to describe "the American" you will have to heap up contradictions. The problem is whether an accumulation of antinomies can be accepted as a definition. The Americans, to begin with, are "in fundamentals more like the British than they are like any other people." In my opinion this is a popular delusion, due to the use of a common language. England is caste-bound; our first tenet is equality. England "loves understatement" (*cf.* Shakespeare, Milton, Dickens, Carlyle, Kipling, *et al.*); we love exaggeration. English life is leisurely, ours trepidating. The language obstacle once conquered, it has been my experience that Americans get along more easily with average Frenchmen, Germans, Russians than with the English. The Continentals are *people*, and even *folk;* the British are peculiar.

The great Anglo-Saxon principle of "liberty under the law" is an essential element in our character. But Mr. Adams neatly explodes that fallacy. We have at the same time the cult of the law and the cult of lawlessness; that is why we have so many prosperous lawyers. "Thus in one way or another—smuggling, lawmaking chicanery, or just absolute non-observance with no penalty—the American developed the deep instinctive belief that he need not obey any laws he did not approve of. . . ."

Next among Anglo-Saxon "racial" gifts is the capacity to compromise. Yes, but Henry IV, Frenchiest of the French, was compromise incarnate. In the two major crises of our history, the issues of independence and slavery, compromise was conceivable. America was offered the equivalent of dominion status, and the slaves could have been redeemed over a period of years at a handsome price. In both cases the "Anglo-Saxon" preferred the arbitrament of the sword.

And so it goes: American sternness, American good-nature; American shrewdness, American naivete; America's crusading spirit, America's attachment to the main chance and the profit motive; America's rugged individualism, and the desire of every American—a born "joiner," a passionate conformist—to be an individualist of the standard type, an individualist exactly like everybody else. No wonder if, in that confusion, we find many excellent Americans who consider the activities of the Dies committee the perfect pattern of un-Americanism.

The period type—itself a will-o'-the-wisp—is more real than the national. Mr. Adams shows that *at one time* adventure, grab, hurry, display could be accepted as characteristics of "the American." But these traits did not belong to Washington, Jefferson, or Lincoln; they aptly describe the French Second Empire.

I believe Mr. Adams is right in regarding not the American man but the American dream as the deeper reality. But that dream—honest work, freedom, and peace—is common to untold millions in Europe. In America most of the obstacles to the attainment of that dream did not exist, or had been removed. For two centuries America was a tangible Utopia. We have a special responsibility in making the universal dream come true; we have the freest chance, and no valid alibi.

"The New Man" hailed by that excellent "American" Crèvecœur in 1792, is not a new national product, a local type like "the Italian" or "the Swede." He is "the common man": men freely uniting on the basis of their common humanity. This, I have always believed, is the American ideal, from Jefferson, through Lincoln, to Ruggles of Red Gap and Henry Wallace. Washington proudly called himself "a citizen of the great Republic of Humanity at large." On the pedestal of William Lloyd Garrison's statue I read, "My country is the world, my countrymen are all mankind." Walt Whitman sang, "O America, because you build for mankind, I build for you." America cannot be reduced to the status of a "nation" like the snarling packs of yesterday in Europe. America remains the hope of the world, because it transcends the "sacred egoism" of the tribes. The one acceptable conception of "the new man," "the American," was expressed by Terence in his *Homo Sum*. Nothing less will do. To reduce "the American" to a national type would be a confession of failure.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON

MAXIM LITVINOFF

By ARTHUR UPHAM POPE

[L. B. Fischer Publishing Corp., $3.50]

In the *N. Y. Journal American*, BENJAMIN DE CASSERES writes:

"One of the most obsequious and nauseating biographies I, as an American ever read. . . . Fellow-Americans, if you need a quick emetic, this is your book."

But There Is a Contrary Opinion!

Former Ambassador JOSEPH E. DAVIES in the *Washington Post* says:

"'MAXIM LITVINOFF' is one of the most important books of the day. It is a definite contribution to the creation of an intelligent public opinion, which is needed to create and sustain a firm working arrangement for the future."

WALTER DURANTY in the *N. Y. Times* says:

". . . a remarkable feat of scholarship and research as well as a vivid and interesting picture of a man who has played a singularly important role in world affairs of the last twenty-five years."

LAWRENCE DAME in the *Boston Herald* says:

"It cannot fail to be read with interest and profit in these days when we must try to understand Russia. . . ."

STERLING NORTH in the *N. Y. Post* says:

"This is a serious study of a major character in the current international drama. . . . It should do much in cementing American-Soviet relations and in dissipating the Red bogey."

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In Defense of Liberalism

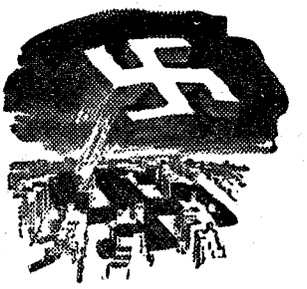
FREE MINDS: JOHN MORLEY AND HIS FRIENDS. By Frances Wentworth Knickerbocker. Harvard University Press. $3.

CLERICALISM was the target of nineteenth-century liberalism, and liberalism became the scapegoat of the twentieth century. Fascism-Nazism attacked it on one side, and reaction, euphemistically termed "conservativism," on the other, taking no account of the fact that neither the French Revolution nor liberalism is the villain in the historical drama but only a new form of man's eternal struggle for more freedom. Any effort to rehabilitate the often maligned ideology of the past is therefore timely and welcome.

In portraying Morley and his friends Leslie Stephen and Fred Harrison, and in analyzing Morley's literary works Mrs. Knickerbocker displays not only an amazingly comprehensive—I am almost tempted to say too extensive—reading, but an intensive grasp of the controversy of our age. Perhaps it is an overstatement to say that "these Victorians belonged . . . to the happiest class of the happiest country in the happiest period of the world," but T. S. Eliot's description of it as "an age of bustle . . . which improved nothing, an age of progressive degeneration" is not justified either. We may make allowances for Eliot's Anglo-Catholicism which puts him under the ban of the Syllabus of Pope Pius IX excommunicating liberalism. As for the attack launched by "totalitarians," these foes of freedom could never have assumed power without the tolerance granted by the suicidal interpretation of liberty.

Morley himself is the leading figure in Mrs. Knickerbocker's book as he was in that literary circle which rallied round the *Fortnightly*. A group of American liberals centered round *The Nation,* to which, incidentally, one of the Morley group, Leslie Stephen, was a frequent contributor. The author convincingly disproves various current accusations against Victorian liberalism. These rationalists and radicals, in spite of having cast off dogma, had kept a religious attitude. "Their humanism, their belief in the dignity of human nature, was rooted in their fathers' faith that man is the child of God." It is a misstatement that the Victorians favored hypocrisy. Nor did they approve of the exploitation created by the freedom of competition. J. S. Mill ruthlessly exposed the insincerities of his age, and in Morley's "Recollections" liberalism "stands for pursuit of social good against class interests and for the dignity of the individual." It may be true, as the author puts it, that nineteenth-century liberalism "had failed to humanize the industrial order out of which it grew," but those who reproach liberalism because of this failure seem to forget that the moral precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, too, have thus far failed to become realities.

Just now when reactionaries are anxious to exorcise the fascist Satan by employing that Beelzebub which Thomas G. Masaryk termed Caesaropapism, Mrs. Knickerbocker's scholarly work should be made compulsory reading in some of the Allied chancelleries, whose representatives apparently have forgotten that "history itself is the story of liberty." It is a gracefully written book, although the enviable literary



Chicago

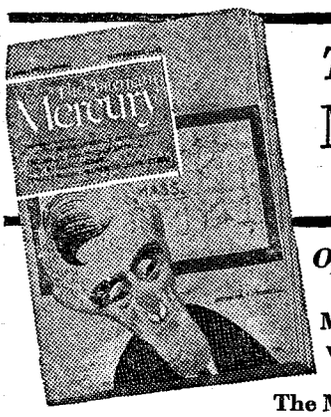
The MUNICH of America . . .

Chicago, most paradoxical of American big cities, has now become the national sorehead center, home of asorted hates . . . Here the people who hate Roosevelt, Russia, Britain, Jews—more than they hate Hitler—still carry on . . . The rabble rousers, and the relics of the Klan, the Bund, the Christian Front, the various Colored Shirt groups . . . who propagandize, solicit members, and in open meetings are addressed by Congressmen, Senators and other prominent "respectables."

This amazing story has been written by two Chicago newspaper men, who name names, mention meeting places . . . In the November issue of The American Mercury—and not to be missed!

The Camouflaged Communist Press

More dangerous than the Communist press is the press that pretends not to be but is—"The Camouflaged Communist Press." Frederick Woltman, who has specialized in exposing false-front Communist organizations, reveals the facts through a case study of one of the most cleverly disguised, "In Fact," which has won large readership as a courageous periodical among decent liberals and even conservatives who fail to recognize it for what it is.



The American MERCURY *for November*

Opinion that gets action!

In its circulation, The Mercury is small compared with mass-popular publications. But in its content, The Mercury carries much that makes Mercury readers make up their minds . . . want to start or stop doing something. And as Mercury readers include no mean portion of opinion makers . . . three thousand editors, reporters and writers, for instance . . . it isn't hard to understand why important opinion in The Mercury so often initiates effective action.

Lawrence E. Spivak

PUBLISHER

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erudition of the author sometimes leads to digressions at the expense of easy readability. Yet "Free Minds" will never weary the reader because, like Morley himself, the author has "learned the biographer's art of letting his subject speak and act."

RUSTEM VAMBERY

What's the Answer?

WHICH KIND OF REVOLUTION? By W. D. Herridge. Little, Brown and Company. $1.75.

TOWARD the end of his term of office, when the depression was in its mid-gloom, the Canadian Prime Minister, R. B. Bennett, quite suddenly began to speak in the mellifluent fireside tones of the New Deal. His tory friends were greatly shocked, for Mr. Bennett was the soundest of right-thinking Canadians. The rest of Canada received the stirring summons to reform with a startled incredulity. Had they been more convinced, Mr. Bennett might still be Prime Minister instead of in the British House of Lords, and W. D. Herridge might well be in the Canadian Cabinet. For afterward it was freely rumored that Mr. Herridge, Canadian Minister to Washington from 1931 to 1935, was the source and inspiration of Mr. Bennett's "New Deal."

After reading his testament of faith we may believe almost anything of Mr. Herridge as a political heretic. "Which Kind of Revolution?" is a slashing attack on the frailties, the stupidities, the hypocrisy, and the reaction of what he terms "English-speaking Democracy." Too weak and unconvinced before the war to stop fascism, even now it "is fighting for the kind of freedom which will permit the old order to perpetuate its failure. Democracy is fighting a war of restoration. We are not trying to build. We are exhuming something which by all the laws of science and morality is long since dead." Worse than that, English-speaking democracy is drifting into a neo-fascism as a result of its fear and hatred of communism. Many have already made up their minds that the Third World War against the Soviet Union is in the making, a point of view partly confirmed by certain attitudes and actions of the British Foreign Office and the American State Department. For in England and in America reaction is in control. "Mr. Churchill fights his war of restoration with the social consciousness of a Marlborough and the political assurance of the hero of Blenheim." As for Mr. Roosevelt, in the brightest days of the New Deal his high aim was to streamline the old order. Now, even that is changed; the hopeful young men are gone, and in their place, as close advisers, are tired and aging reactionaries.

All this is stout, outspoken criticism of conservative leadership and policies. We suspect that Mr. Herridge knows the score but is a little frightened by his addition. He begins by demanding that we set out to build a new order and break ourselves of the vicious habit of administering palliatives. The magic formula for the new order is "the total use of resources." The outstanding condemnation of the old system is that it artificially perpetuates the economy of scarcity. A revolutionary change is needed because "there is no evolutionary way for limited use of total use." It develops, however, that Mr. Herridge is opposed to socialist measures and to anything resembling government planning. He thinks that war-time controls and regulations have few lessons that we can carry over into the post-war period. In fact, it turns out that Mr. Herridge has an old-fashioned devotion to free enterprise which should be given another chance to show what it can do in making total use of resources. We never do learn very much about Mr. Herridge's revolution.

Something else is very strange about Mr. Herridge. He talks a lot about Democracy, usually with a capital D, and usually in terms of reproach unless accompanied by "New." For communism, on the other hand, he has a curious and fearful awe. Take this astonishing sequence: "When, in the English-speaking world, the state goes Fascist, the common man goes Communist. This is the complementary action, automatic and inevitable. For the common man of Democracy will not fight for fascism against communism. This means that communism would destroy fascism. Then the flag of imperialist communism might fly in every capital." Now this is sheer nonsense. For the only sections of the world where the common man has showed any inclination to go Communist have been those sections where democracy has been peculiarly backward. In the English-speaking world there is a fairly healthy tradition that when tyrants—fascist or otherwise—show their ugly heads, the common man fights, as a democrat, for his liberties—for democracy. It seems to us that Mr. Herridge has fallen into the mistake which both fascists and Communists have made in the past, and of which they are now repenting, the mistake of underestimating the toughness and guts of democracy. Mr. Herridge would have done better to build more on the resources of democracy and less on magic formulas and bogyman fantasies.

J. KING GORDON

AMUSEMENTS

CHERYL CRAWFORD *presents* MARY MARTIN
KENNY BAKER • JOHN BOLES
ONE TOUCH OF VENUS
with PAULA LAURENCE & TEDDY HART
Book by S. J. PERELMAN & OGDEN NASH — Dances by Agnes de Mille
Music by KURT WEILL — Lyrics by OGDEN NASH — Staged by ELIA KAZAN
IMPERIAL Thea., 45th St. W. of B'way. Evgs. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat. at 2:30

BOOK

THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM
By JOHN PUTNAM
179 PAGES — CLOTH BINDING — $1.50

THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM includes all of the sound older arguments as well as a number of significant new arguments for Socialism. It makes use of the best of Marxian theory and also utilizes the theory of monopolistic competition. It points out that Socialism is inevitable not only because of the technological changes so brilliantly described by Marx and Engels, but also because of the increased economic strain which modern war imposes upon Capitalism. The gross wastes due to competition and private initiative are described separately for each of the major industries.

The author of this book was an Associate Professor of Economics at a large state university and is now an economist with a Government War agency. He writes under a pen name.

Ask your dealer for the book, or order from the publisher.

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IN BRIEF

ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By John C. Miller. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

This history by the author of "Sam Adams, Pioneer of Propaganda," is written afresh from a wide field of source material and gets to the bottom of the political developments in Britain and America which led to the Revolution. Although it makes it quite clear that the Revolution was essentially a civil war, it disposes of the theory that British opinion was not back of the war and that the Revolution in this country was not essentially a democratic movement. Though learned, it is lively.

MARK TWAIN: MAN AND LEGEND. By DeLancey Ferguson. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.

With learning and skill Professor Ferguson links the experiences of Mark Twain's life to his works—including his autobiographical works, where details were sometimes inaccurately recollected. A very solid, picturesque, human book results.

ROBERT BURNS: HIS ASSOCIATES AND CONTEMPORARIES. The Train, Grierson, Young, and Hope Manuscripts, Edited, with an Introduction, by Robert T. Fitzhugh, with The Journal of the Border Tour, Edited by DeLancey Ferguson. University of North Carolina Press. $3.

This elegant and scholarly trifle forms a pleasant appendix to Professor Ferguson's great edition of the Letters of Robert Burns and his study of the poet called "Pride and Passion."

FILMS

"GUADALCANAL DIARY," an adaptation of the Richard Tregaskis book, is unusually serious, simple, and honest, as far as it goes; but it would be a shame and worse if those who made or will see it got the idea that it is a remotely adequate image of the first months on that island. The picture is worth talking about at some length, and I hope to do that when there is space. Meanwhile I think it is to be rather respected, and recommended, but with very qualified enthusiasm.

"We Will Come Back," a furious and very entertaining Russian melodrama about guerrillas and a Nazi spy, is as phony in its way as "The North Star." But it can tell you even more about the Russians than "The North Star" can tell you about Americans, with about a hundredth the tedium and chagrin. It can tell you a good deal, for that matter, which the Russian war record films cannot: for as a piece of popular entertainment it is as intensely and internally Russian as a small, florid, vociferous opera company might be Italian. What you see inferred in it is violent, hysterical, innocent, reckless, and realistic almost beyond our comprehension. (Watch especially the guerrilla leader, the girl, and the two leading Nazis.) I was particularly interested to see the almost slapstick scorn with which a dying German is treated (good, I infer, for howls of laughter), and the attitude toward religion. God is repeatedly scratched behind the ears as He passes and slapped affectionately on the rump to make it stick; and toward the end, in a clear bid for applause, an old priest grabs a Nazi soldier and bashes his skull in with a rock. It looks as if Cherkassov in "The Calling of Dan Matthews" were only a question of a very short time.

"Old Acquaintance" is a typical woman's duet on the standard musical saws favored by any housewives' magazine (the tune is "Love Is the Sweetest Thing but We Have No Bananas Today"). What perplexes me is that I could sit through it with some interest. The two chief characters seem to represent, between them, all that a suburban housewife at her worst likes to think she is and thanks God she is not (honorable, realistic, and self-denying, like Bette Davis), and all that she thanks God she is not, but is (Miriam Hopkins as a frenzied tea-cosy sheltering the opposite characteristics). Miss Davis loses two lovers for the sake of Miss Hopkins and her daughter; Miss Hopkins loses everything except Miss Davis. Miss Davis is noble enough and Miss Hopkins ignoble enough to make it unnecessary for any housewife to take the morality play personally, beyond comfortably checking on what she knew already, that virtue's peculiar rewards are hardly worth the candle. The odd thing is that the two ladies and Vincent Sherman, directing, make the whole business look fairly intelligent, detailed, and plausible; and that on the screen such trash can seem, even, mature and adventurous.

JAMES AGEE

ART

CHARLES BURCHFIELD: Water Colors, at Frank Rehn Galleries until November 13. *MILTON AVERY:* Water Colors, at Paul Rosenberg's until November 15. *EUGENE BERMAN:* Oils and Drawings, at Julien Levy Gallery until November 30.

BURCHFIELD'S kind of painting is a staple of contemporary American art. A cautious acquaintance with nineteenth-century French painting, the example of Winslow Homer, and one or two small but valid sensations give a semblance of animation to a style otherwise academic and dull. Eight over-size water colors on cardboard, painted dryly and with a heaviness uncharacteristic of the medium, organize in a routine way details such as hundreds of other water colorists in this country note every week and organize in much the same manner. One subject that rouses Burchfield's talent is the frame-house neighborhood gone to seed. "Winter," with its weather-worn house slouching in the loom of a black factory, is the picture of this show. Burchfield felt that house

Avery is a "light" modern who in oil can produce offspring of Marie Laurencin and Matisse that are empty and sweet, with nice flat areas of color. For water color he goes to school with Marin, and his art becomes as period American as Burchfield's, if much more delicate and elegant. The painting is almost faultless within its limitations, but it has been seen before—the reticent color, the hinted and the actual black-and-whites, the tactful emotions about nature. They are the ingredients of a uniquely American contribution to landscape art; only Marin has summed it up already, at least in this vein.

Eugene Berman, Neo-Romantic, is, I suppose, a painter. But we can save trouble by taking him as simple specialist in *frissons* for the cocktail hour. Given that he has discovered essentially nothing about his art that Raphael didn't know, he is very dextrous. That is, he can paint any way he wants to, provided the way has already been discovered by someone else. The prescription for Berman's thrill this year, and thrill it is, is to take a Florentine master, clean him thoroughly, rearrange the figures, reheat and remix the subject, and then freshen up everything with Böcklin syrup. Piquancy is also gained by doing the canvas without ground or underpainting while yet striving after

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the same effect. There is an effect, a wonderful-rich effect, but it belongs to journalism and mode. It is as if Time Inc. were rewriting and simultaneously imitating the Harvard Classics. Berman's pictures, crowded as they are into a relatively small space, are too overpowering, too decadent, too spurious, and, really, too well done to be dealt with in measured words. If this is art, the age is doomed.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

MUSIC

HAYDN'S Symphony No. 104, which Toscanini played with the N. B. C. Symphony at his first broadcast, is a marvelous example of the Haydn method and its results. "The essential character of Haydn's form is dramatic surprise at the moment," says Tovey; and "nothing in Haydn is difficult to follow, but almost everything is unexpected"—which means, of course, that it must be listened to with close attention. The slow introduction to the first movement of No. 104 begins with a majestic, brilliant, radiant opening call in the key of D by the entire orchestra—after which comes the dramatic surprise of the dark D minor whisper of the strings in a deeply affecting passage that brings further surprises. Twice again the brilliant call of the entire orchestra is heard, each time with a new surprise in the whispered answer, and with newly startling details as these answers continue. The method is the same in fast tempo: in the *Allegro* portion of the movement the development section (beginning of side 2 of the Fischer or Beecham recorded performance) is concerned at first with two measures, of which each repetition brings an unexpected and expressive alteration—in harmony, then in phrase length with new harmonic progressions, then in instrumental color with the introduction of dark cellos and basses, then contrasting flute and oboe, and so on.

You come to realize that the Haydn method is a constant playing with the hearer's mind, and that it isn't only great emotional and technical powers but also sheer high spirits which produce those astounding details in that breath-taking succession: he is delighting in his use of his powers to amuse himself by writing today what will startle his hearers and move or delight them next week. This is most obvious in the bit of musical fooling at the end of the minuet of No. 104—the silence where you are expecting another trill, and then *piano* where you expert *forte*. But even when he is writing serious music you sense at times his amusement in contriving surprises like those of the introduction, or the one in the slow second movement: you think the movement is about over, when it goes off on wide-ranging and wonderful digressions.

With Haydn's symphony on Toscanini's program were two other works full of gaiety and humor—Mozart's Overture to "The Magic Flute" and Beethoven's Symphony No. 8. Surprise produces some of the humor in Beethoven's symphony: the surprise of the opening theme of the finale coasting along *pp* and colliding suddenly with the *ff* C sharp; the unexpected play with that C sharp in the coda, ending in the unexpected change of tonality; the two places where the full orchestra *ff* breaks off, and first the flutes and strings *p*, then the bassoon and kettledrum *pp* go chortling on. This last trick is one which orchestra and bassoon go through a couple of times in the first movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.453, a delightful piece of high comedy by another composer with a love of fun and the powers with which to indulge it—producing, for example, the last comic stroke in the coda of the finale of K.453, where you expect the theme of the movement to reappear in the context in which it appeared before, and it doesn't reappear, and the movement bustles along and seem to be coming to the end, and suddenly not only the theme jumps out at you from the piano but with it a startlingly unexpected and hilarious extension of it from horns and woodwinds. In the Overture to "The Magic Flute" there is also a surprise—of the chattering *Allegro* after the solemn introduction.

There is little to say about the performances: only that the inflection of phrase, the clarity of texture, the rhythmic and plastic continuity, and the musicality that produced them were again things to marvel at. There is, however, something to say about the way the concert was broadcast. The N. B. C. Symphony series has acquired a commercial sponsor—General Motors—which presumably wishes to secure the good will of the people who listen to the broadcasts. It might have begun with the announcement, "General Motors presents a concert by the N. B. C. Symphony under the direction of Arturo Toscanini"; it might have said after the Mozart overture, "The next work to be performed by Arturo Toscanini and the N. B. C. Symphony at this concert presented by General Motors is Haydn's Symphony No. 104"; it might have ended with the statement that the concert had been presented by General Motors; and it would have had the good will of those who care about hearing Toscanini's performances with the N. B. C. Symphony. What it did, after the Haydn symphony, was to present Mr. Kettering of General Motors, who talked and talked and TALKED and TALKED for nearly ten minutes; and at the end the last minute of Beethoven's symphony was cut off for a concluding commercial announcement. And I can report that in this way it earned the intense ill will of everyone I talked to who had listened to the concert.

The Budapest Quartet's concerts at the Library of Congress were not broadcast last spring, and will not be broadcast this fall. What C. B. S. giveth C. B. S. can take away. On the other hand there is the great news that the concerts of the New Friends of Music will be broadcast in their entirety by WQXR under the commercial sponsorship of the Book-of-the-Month Club. It will be possible to listen to one of the great works of Beethoven and not to listen to something like the Quintet Opus 16; it will be possible to listen to the Budapest Quartet and not to listen to the Busch; and above all it will be possible to listen undisturbed by the New Friends of Music audience, which sits motionless, silent, and rapt only in the New Friends publicity stories.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

BLAIR BOLLES writes a column on international affairs for the Washington *Star*.

RICHARD W. ABBOTT has done forestry and flood-control work in Missouri, Michigan, and the state of Washington. He is now teaching at Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

AGNES SMEDLEY, author of "Battle Hymn of China" and "China Fights Back," recently returned to this country after living in China since the last war.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of "Literature and Society" and "The France of Tomorrow."

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Letters to the Editors

Ridiculous!

Dear Sirs: One can be quite sure that there are no farmers on the board of editors of *The Nation* or the review of Edward H. Faulkner's "Plowman's Folly" by Russell Lord would never have slipped through. I have not read Mr. Faulkner's book and am not prepared to comment upon that, but I have read the ridiculous review of it by Mr. Lord and have plenty to say about that.

As a great majority of the readers of *The Nation* are city dwellers they will probably get the impression that Mr. Faulkner's book contains a revelation that will revolutionize farming and also get the impression that at least a half dozen generations of American farmers have been damned fools.

No one will claim that the farmers have been 100 per cent perfect in the use of the soil or that none of their methods have been wrong and are in no need of correction. In fact even the crackpot ideas of Mr. Lord have their value if they do nothing more than arouse an interest among farmers and get them thinking about better methods of getting the most *out* of the soil.

The thing which struck me the most in the whole review was Mr. Lord's philosophizing about the major operation of a blunt instrument of major surgery, "turning and rending a living body, soil," and appealing to the reader's reason to accept his idea that this can't happen to the soil and still have it remain healthy. The only trouble with such a statement is that it ignores entirely the whole purpose of the soil, which is to raise crops. Mr. Lord spoke of the luxuriant growth of grass along the Illinois Central's right of way and the baked out, burned out, farmed out fields beyond which looked bleak and thin. Yet Mr. Lord probably never stopped to think that these same burned out, farmed out, baked out, bleak, thin fields would be producing from 30 to 60 bushels of corn per acre or an equivalent in other crops every year to add to the food of the nation but that the ground along the Illinois Central would be producing absolutely nothing.

One will agree perfectly that if the end purpose in the world were to create a perfect soil the ideal method of doing it would be the one which he described on the right of way of the I. C. There year after year the entire growth of vegetation is allowed to fall upon the earth and to accumulate year after year. Unquestionably this would build up a soil very rich in humus, nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and all the other things necessary for plant life, and enable the native grass to grow luxuriantly.

Unfortunately that isn't the end purpose to which we must put the soil of the world. Even Mr. Lord might find more nourishment in a good meal raised from the bleak, farmed-out fields than he would in feasting his mind upon the wonderful soil which had been produced by years and years of allowing all that grew upon the land to fall down and enrich the soil. We cannot have our cake and eat it. We cannot put everything that grows on the soil back into it and still raise enough food to feed the people of the country.

CLARENCE ARMSTRONG

Baltimore, October 8

Shocking!

Dear Sirs: Mr. Armstrong ought to read the book in question. His rugged assumption that our American methods of clean culture can not have been in general damned foolish will not stand. The simplest verticle measurements of the remaining top soil, even on the so-called flat lands of Illinois, show farmers farming themselves out of a farm in fifty years or less. The corn yields he cites —thirty to sixty bushels to the acre— are disgracefully low yields on land recently so fertile. When he says that you can't have your cake and eat it too he denies as a farmer the possibility of arriving at a permanent agriculture. This denial is quite in line with the soil-mining tradition of our past, but in the light of world experience it is absurd; and to come upon such thoughts arrayed in the civilized guise of a letter to *The Nation* is shocking.

RUSSELL LORD

Athens, Ga., October 1

More to the Point

Dear Sirs: In an age like ours when trade journalism is so blandly accepted as literature one can justify one's surprise at seeing such a title as "On Creative Imagination" set in large type on the cover of even such a magazine as *The Nation*. The practical reader who may object to such a consideration when so many tremendous events are in the making is just as wrong as our professional educationists who insist on method almost to the exclusion of substance. Through studies that might be written in extension of Mr. Humphries's essay one conceivably could learn far more about what goes on in these heads of ours than from reading blow-by-blow accounts of the battles between Pegler and labor or whoever and the New Deal.

PRIVATE

Somewhere in Missouri, November 1

A Curious Distinction

Dear Sirs: As a reader I wish to thank you for Lionel Trilling's piece on Eliot's Kipling.

As for Mr. Eliot's attitude to Jews and Judaism, I can refer Mr. Trilling— if he has not read it—to the curious remark in the first lecture of "After Strange Gods." It is difficult to obtain a copy of the book in these environs, but I remember that passage well enough to transmit its sense: that "too many free-thinking Jews" would be a distrusting element in a traditional American community. The qualifying words intrigued me, and Mr. Eliot never explained why pious Jews would be more acceptable.

CHAPLAIN JULIUS KRAVETZ

Camp Adair, Ore., November 1

Is This Coddling?

Dear Sirs: Justice Franklin Taylor of the Kings County Court recently attacked the present city administration for coddling criminals by granting them public assistance. Although I am not a supporter of the present mayor and have always been a registered Democrat, I feel that I should answer this outburst.

I have been employed by the Department of Welfare of the City of New York as a social investigator for many years. Most families that I have investigated for relief have no criminal records and were compelled to apply for relief because of conditions beyond their control. At the present time there are no able-bodied persons receiving relief— except women with small children. Most, if not all, of the persons receiving relief have been examined by our doctors

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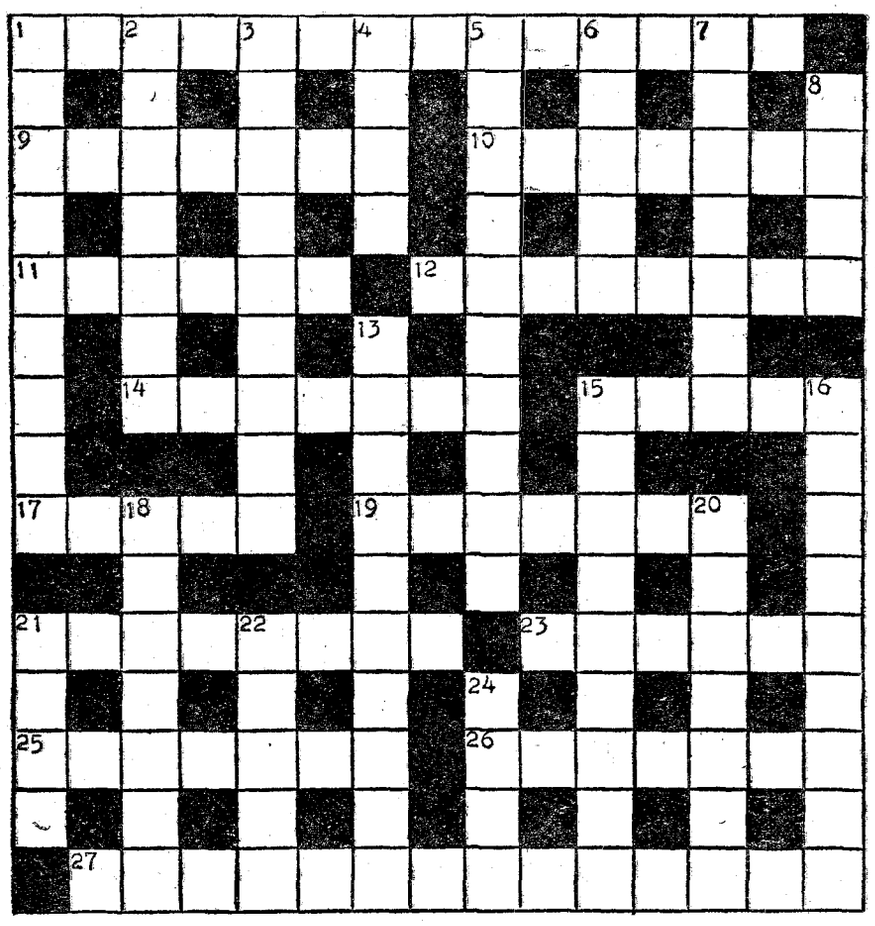
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 38

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Useful mental attribute during an air raid, though absence of body might be better (three words, 8, 2 and 4)
9 Cordial
10 Mondays make all the difference to these machines
11 Fawn
12 Relief for the metal-worker
14 Apple of the eye, and golfers are required to keep the first part on the second
15 John Wesley said he was always in this, but never in a hurry
17 It covers a multitude of (feminine) shins
19 Where an extrovert should turn his gaze occasionally
21 Manx dog unlikely to win in the neighborhood of London
23 Quentin Reynolds told us the story of this in "Dress Rehearsal"
25 Wine god (anag.)
26 You can do this to a document, and a document can do this to you.
27 Not a good slogan for a candidate seeking re-election . . . his opponent might twist it into "Tired and rusty" (three words, 5, 3 and 6)

DOWN

1 Cook's mate?
2 He is always upset by queries
3 Sheridan described a circulating library as an ---------- tree of diabolical knowledge
4 Foot barometer
5 Not even men are as numerous in the summer as in the winter—in society, of course!
6 Fruit that gives a fellow energy
7 Ultimately overtakes the evil-doer
8 A slave may be seen here
13 A frail coin appears in such a state
15 "Primrose, first-born child of Ver, Merry springtime's ----------"
16 Both perpetual motion, and the search for its secret, go on thus
18 Arundel (anag.)
20 Soda jerkers
21 How fifty can make a noise
22 North-west European married in the South-east
24 This set stands for a very determined attempt

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 37

ACROSS:—1 WELLS; 4 EVA; 6 CARAT; 9 OVERATE; 10 TREASON; 11 GIANTS; 13 SMITHIES; 15 EUSTACE; 16 RIDERS; 17 KNEE; 19 SPINACH; 21 NELL; 23 LEDGER; 25 SCOOTER; 27 TESTATOR; 28 SOILED; 31 GALILEO; 32 CANTEEN; 33 TAPER; 34 GEE; 35 SONIA.

DOWN:—1 WRONG; 2 LEEWARD; 3 SCATTERS; 4 EWER; 5 ASTHMA; 6 CREATE; 7 RUSSIAN; 8 TONES; 12 SUSPECT; 13 STENTOR; 14 ICICLES; 16 RUN; 18 ERR; 20 HEROINES; 22 LAST LAP; 24 GALLEON; 25 SAILOR; 26 OOLONG; 27 TIGHT; 29 DONNA; 30 ACHE.

or at a clinic. At present relief allowances are not sufficient to provide an adequate diet. If Judge Taylor and Mrs. Taylor decided to retire on a home-relief allowance, they would receive a total of $57.90 per month. If they were eligible for an old-age-assistance grant, they would receive $60.50 per month for both. These allowances are a far cry from the $25,000 per year that the judge receives.

Might I recommend that the learned jurist obtain the facts before airing his prejudices? He also should note that there, but for the grace of God, goes he.

J. S.

Brooklyn, N. Y., October 10

Inconsistent

Dear Sirs: Miss Kirchwey's clear recognition of the pro-democratic nature of the Soviets' foreign policy (the Moscow Conference, *The Nation,* October 30) was marred by one inconsistency. She says "just once has the Soviet government deviated from its support of the democratic forces, when it joined with Britain and America in accepting as co-belligerents the present regime."

One wonders what else the Soviet government could have done in the face of Mr. Churchill's speech of September 21. It seems to me that the only wise course was to insist upon the creation of the machinery through which the Soviet government could raise these points in fruitful fashion. It did so. It had unofficially expressed its dissent from Anglo-American policy by charging the AMG with maintaining Fascists in office and with being too concerned with capitalist interests. Officially it proposed the setting up of the Mediterranean Commission, and it requested a place on it for the French, thus proving that it had virtually recognized the French committee as a provisional government.

And looking at the results, for Italian democracy, of the Moscow pact one is bound to consider the Soviet course a wise one. If one contrasts our past policy with the Soviets' it is hardly to be doubted that the improvement is due to two things—the Italian people's refusal to accept the Badoglio regime as it was, and the Soviets' political influence in the councils of the United Nations. I think the published agreements prove, as Miss Kirchwey later suggested, that Stalin had *formally* acquiesced as the only means of furthering a modification.

RALPH BATES

New York, November 3

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